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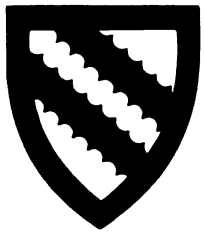

WINNING EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN CALIFORNIA

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

OF THE

College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California

IN THE

CAMPAIGN OF 1911

Published by the National College Equal Suffrage League

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OFFICERS

OF

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Elected May, 1911

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MRS. C. H. HOWARD (California).

INTRODUCTION.

The news of the success of our campaign in California, that, on October 10th, 1911, gave the right of suffrage to the women of the State, had scarcely been confirmed before letters began to pour into the headquarters of the College Equal Suffrage League from almost every State in the Union, asking advice and suggestions for organizing and conducting a like campaign.

To meet this demand, which was most urgent from the States with a campaign immediately ahead, the directors of the College League, at a meeting on October 14th, 1911, resolved, "That the chairman of each committee write an account of the work done by her and her committee, these reports to be printed in concise form and bound together for filing, and for the benefit of campaigners in the other States." An editor was then chosen. The reports published in this volume are the result of that resolution.

Months have passed in collecting and revising the scattered material, and in an effort to fill up gaps in the story. The history of hasty, unrecorded work—one task having sometimes gone through the hands of five successive volunteer chairmen—has been curiously difficult to trace. An advantage of the method of presentation chosen by the League, of telling the story of the campaign through signed reports of chairmen of committees, is that something of the vividness of first-hand experience is retained; but the defect of the method is equally apparent, for like the "spot light," it brings out one group of facts sharply, only to leave adjacent groups in darkness, and, in this way, there is often a serious loss of perspective.

For instance, the Blue Liner report gives, with copious detail, an account of the campaigning work done in about twenty-five towns in four counties, but of the work accomplished by our Eastern helpers, by Miss Jeanette Rankin, Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley, Mrs. A. C. Fisk, Mrs. Stanislawski, Miss Margaret Haley, Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCullough, Miss Helen M. Todd, and Miss Gail Laughlin, in building up organizations in thirty counties of the State, through weeks and months of traveling and speaking, we have only the sketch that makes a part of the Central Campaign Committee's report. Happily, the record of their efforts exists in another, and more substantial, form in the splendid gains in the country vote shown in most of the counties where their work was done.

In the report on City Circularizing, we have a clear account of how three city districts were circularized, but no reports have been procurable of the same work in the circularizing of the 10,000 school teachers and the trustees and boards of education of the State; the circularizing of the voters of Contra Costa County, of the 43rd District of San Francisco, and of many social and business clubs.

These unrecorded tasks are, numerically, more important than those of which we are so fortunate as to have a record.

By this, it will be seen that these reports cannot be accepted as a consecutive story, even of the recent active campaign of the College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California, but rather as types of individual pieces of work which become more consecutive as we approach the central headquarters, where the activities centered.

As, in most cases, we have only the reports of the chief chairman of committees, the work in San Francisco, in consequence, seems to occupy too large a place on the stage. In reality, the activities generated at headquarters reached out in every direction. The San Francisco public meetings, arranged by the College League, were paralleled in all the bay cities, Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, and many smaller towns, where they were carried through by other College League chairmen. Alameda was especially energetic in arranging for large drawing-room meetings, teas, garden fêtes, and church gatherings, at which the suffrage amendment was presented. The Merchants' Window Displays, in suffrage colors, in these towns and in Sacramento were well carried out, and yet for them the San Francisco report must stand as type.

A fact that is significant, in this State where women vote, is that the most active workers for Equal Suffrage, immediately upon acquiring the vote, formed themselves into organizations whose object was to work for the civic betterment of California. When our citizenship was a month old the College Equal Suffrage League founded the California Civic League, which now has thirty centers in as many towns in Northern California, and a dues-paying membership of about three thousand, three times as large as the College League had at the end of the campaign. The building up of these new organizations drew the life-blood from the parent organism. Instead of having in California an old guard, who delights in nothing so much as the recounting of campaign adventures, we have the vigorous ranks of a new soldiery striving with all the old enthusiasm, and a growing self-discipline, toward the realization of a purer and better California. In searching into obscure details for these reports the editor has, a score of times, been told, "I have forgotten about that. The new work is so interesting," or, "I feel that the real service for us to do for equal suffrage is, not to look back, but, by the quality of our citizenship, to make good."

Like the trees of our forest, the new growth has sprung up and absorbed, in many places, even the traces of the old, which gave it life. No spirit could be more in accord with our old hopes and prophecies, nothing better substantiate our claim that the suffragists were not working for notoriety: but to an editor in search of facts,

this indifference to publicity on the part of chairmen whose reports she is pledged to publish, has had its disadvantages.

In reviewing the work, as a whole, of our northern branch of the League, it is evident that in spite of the hurried and uncalculated zeal of much that was done, certain distinct principles of general application do emerge. We have won experience that we believe may be of value to another State in undertaking the same work. By our mistakes, we have learned which of the Hills of Difficulty could have been better scaled by another approach, and by our successes, we know the potency of determined work.

We realize that it is of first importance that any State with a suffrage amendment pending should have a firm, active suffrage organization at work some years before the opening of the final campaign. Even in States where the indifference of the male electorate is the strongest enemy to be overcome, the association should be doing preparatory work. This early activity will save an immense amount of intense and often wasteful labor during the last months of a campaign, and make the outcome more secure.

In forming such a working organization it is essential that a large group of efficient women who believe in the principles of equal suffrage should be gathered together and lifted to a state of earnest enthusiasm, that officers of a wide range of capacity may be presented as material for the nominating committee. This can best be done when a distinguished speaker has created public interest by giving a series of talks on the need for equal suffrage in relation to the problems of modern life.

In selecting the president of a league for a campaign, the prime requisites are integrity, intelligence, and just as essential as either, the habit of trained work. The amount of labor that falls on the chief director of a campaign is so great in amount and so concentrated in quality that almost no amateur worker is sufficiently seasoned to endure the strain. The president of our League had the discipline of seven years of work as a secretary of organized charity, and under pressure could endure sixteen hours of office work a day. Among the other chairmen of committees who endured unfalteringly, it was noticeable that every woman who made a marked record for work, had already served a real apprenticeship. I believe that this is significant and should be considered in appointing chief chairmen for committees.

One of the best plans for strengthening interest throughout a State is, of course, to arrange a series of meetings, through women's clubs already organized, at which a strong and agreeable speaker will be given time for a half hour's talk to the members. From this group, she should start an independent suffrage society. Never try to work for equal suffrage through the machinery of a club

organized for other purposes, or all your power will be absorbed by friction and dissipated in heat.

In California this vitalizing work had been led by Miss Anthony and Dr. Anna Shaw, fifteen years before the recent successful campaign, and their converts and followers had been disseminating that influence throughout the State during the years of quiescence between the unsuccessful campaign of 1896 and the successful one of 1911. About ten years after the defeat, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of Boston, founded the College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California, and gathered a group of vigorous, young college women into a band of progressive workers. In looking back it is easy to trace to these three influences and to the press work done by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper,—later carried on by Mrs. Frank P. Deering,—the initial interest in this movement in California. They established, years ago, many separate little centers of conviction and enthusiasm through the small towns of the State, as well as in the larger centers of population, and in starting our active campaign, we had these deposits to draw upon.

The knowledge of the great value of this early work to us makes it clear that a strong speaker, coming several years ahead of the legislative crisis, is of pre-eminent importance to open the way, to enlist the sympathies of the women, and through them, the voters. Of course, the practical question arises, how can a weak suffrage organization, with no money in its treasury, pay for the expense of an accomplished speaker? The most economical plan is, of course, to develop a good local speaker from one of the women's clubs of the State—a woman whose experience in genial debate and in forming organizations would fit her to go out to the towns in all parts of her State to start fresh organizations. An active canvass of all the women's clubs would be apt to develop the presence of a woman who already warmly believes in the importance of the work, and who, with encouragement and further study, could fit herself for such a series of talks at less expense than would be involved in bringing a speaker from a distance. When a need is strongly felt and definitely stated, the first step is already taken toward filling it. Need your speaker, find your speaker, and the money to send her out can be raised. Had such an organizer—one no more eloquent than a score that we had during the last months of our work—gone over this State two years ahead of the campaign, and had her new leagues been kept alive by correspondence with the parent body and a lively yearly convention, we would have had a welcome for our speakers when the campaign was on, instead of having to dry out our fuel before we could kindle the first blaze.

In all honesty, it is safe to say that none of the work that was done for equal suffrage before or during 1911 was wasted, but this

report should attempt to establish not absolute so much as relative values. The question is, what pays best in results for the investment of time, brains, money and work? There are several doubtful points, to my mind, that have not been absolutely cleared up, either by contact with facts at first hand, or by the reports of committees. One of these is: How much time should be given in trying to effect a close coöperation with other suffrage organizations? Another: Does city circularizing bring as large results for the effort expended as country circularizing? A third: What is the value of the suffrage debate as a method of propaganda? This last is, to me, the least difficult. If through debate an audience can be reached that will listen to arguments for equal suffrage on no other terms, debate it must be; but to suggest or institute suffrage debates, I believe, after much observation, to be based on bad psychology. The anti-suffrage tradition rests so largely upon custom and repetition that even a mock debate strengthens the prejudices of listeners by re-stating, however grotesquely, their own case. I think we must frankly acknowledge that people are not all convinced through reason, and that although the proposition that women should vote is seriously and profoundly true, it will, at first, be established with this class of people much as the virtues of a breakfast food are established,—by affirmation. You would find no wise advertiser paying for "space" to insinuate doubts as to the value of his commodity, and it is equally unwise to propose a debate that "darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge." Perhaps the wise counsel would be to be always ready to accept a challenge to debate with established opponents, but never to create such opponents by instituting debates. In High Schools, where boys are at an age to feel peculiarly sure of sex superiority, it seems especially unwise to precipitate a taking of sides.

That other classic device, the suffrage prize essay in schools, is of unquestionable value. We found that to carry the prize offer through all the schools of the State would cost about seven hundred dollars. The plan would have been carried out but that it was undertaken too late, when examinations and summer vacation were at hand. This is the sort of enterprise to begin work on months in advance of an active campaign, as one of the educational methods that through slow seepage gradually permeates the tissues of society. A single individual will sometimes give all the money to carry out a specific piece of work of this sort. As in all contests it is important to state, once for all, in a clear way, the conditions of the contest, and at that time to refuse to answer further questions. Otherwise, endless correspondence will ensue.

We came to see, that in using money to bring arguments to the people, that our best plans were those that advertised themselves. For example, the speaking and singing for equal suffrage of Madame

Nordica, in Union Square, was an event of front-page importance. Something that all the money of our treasury could never have secured; in a lesser way the quick turning to account of the presence in San Francisco of the suffragist, Baron de Constant, President of the Peace Conference of the Hague, in his peace mission around the world, linked our movement with a figure of world interest. The use of the vaudeville troupe of Australian boys who, by our arrangement, gave an equal suffrage performance and carried banners saying "Our mothers vote. Why don't yours?," and the presence of a woman suffrage float in the Labor Day parade, each, in different degrees, had this same sort of value. They were demonstrations that seized the imagination, and got themselves talked about.

The most valuable of our directly paid for advertisements were, I think, the huge bill-board posters, because by their size and phrasing they commanded comment. The least effective use of money for paid advertisements was, probably, the insertion of columns of suffrage argument in the newspapers. As a general axiom, therefore, use money in doing things so brilliantly well that their success brings voluntary notice. Make of the public tongue your town-crier, and you need not hire the town press.

If in this volume there is no definite recognition or thanks given to the men of California, to whom we owe our success, it is not because we have forgotten, or can forget. The speakers of trained capacity who gave us time and tireless service made us feel, as part of their generosity, that our cause was their cause, and our success their personal triumph, that theirs was the service that rewards itself in serving.

And with those many thousand others, throughout the State, who voted to share with us their citizenship, we rejoice to share both citizenship and humanity.

It is well that we have not hoped to make adequate acknowledgments, for we can never requite the unrecorded labors of hundreds of women who worked with us, without thought of recognition, in utter self-forgetfulness.

The purpose of these reports has been simple and practical. Those who have coöperated in writing them have tried to make a record, definite, fresh and hope-inspiring, for other campaigners. We heartily believe in the value of suggestion, because we, ourselves, gained so much from the ideas that we captured and reworked from every available source, and we expect that, in turn, the rough technique of our own campaign will be perfected in other States. *The Editor.*

THE PRESIDENT'S FOREWORD.

Suggestions for Successful Organization.

In making an active campaign for equal suffrage, no matter how vital other reforms may appear, let equal suffrage and equal suffrage alone be the issue of your organization. If your association allows itself to become identified with Socialism, Women's Christian Temperance work, Prohibition, reforms for working women, or any other measure, it will be at the expense of alienating the interest of some of the friends of your own cause.

Reasonable advocates of other reforms can often be made active suffrage workers, when it is brought to their attention that their own special work can be carried forward more effectively after women have the ballot. In California we had vigorous and competent help from other bodies of social workers, who, for the time, laid aside their own paramount interest to work with us in our campaign.

The planning of a campaign is the first work of a president and her board, but as the actual work must be carried out in committee a president should put her best effort into building up strong committees and in discovering fit chairmen. In this the president should insist on the advice and coöperation of her board. A committee once formed should be held responsible for the work for which it was created, and though the presiding officer may have to spend much time in keeping the committee up to its business, it is far more advantageous, on all accounts, that she should do this than that she should perform any part of its work, since the assumption of a committee's duties destroys its interest and usefulness. A committee may be reorganized and should be strengthened and refreshed by new members, as its work unfolds.

Whenever it is possible, volunteers should be placed at once upon some committee, because real work should be supplied for everyone. Experience in our campaign convinced us that when a woman was set actively to work her interest kindled and her neutrality warmed into partisanship. Sometimes a single errand to the printer's or a trip to arrange for a permit from the Chief of Police, was enough to draw in a new enthusiast, who, from that hour, felt that the work of the League was her own intimate concern. The vigor of a league may be measured by the number of its healthy and well-sustained enterprises, and this demands a body of ardent and intelligent workers, constantly reinforced by new members.

In selecting a chairman for the Publicity Committee it is essen-

tial, we found, to have a woman who had had professional experience in newspaper work, who knew the intricacies of the newspaper offices, and something of the personnel of the papers' managements, but—I must add this word of caution—not a woman who, during the campaign, was in the employ of a paper, lest this should stand in the way of the other newspapers feeling that they had free and impartial news rights. A chairman thus experienced in newspaper methods is often able to prevent the publication of news prematurely, or is able to handle a news item, that threatens mischief, so that instead of its being injurious it becomes of positive advantage.

For the Chairman of the State Press Committee, newspaper training is no less essential and, added to that, she should know the history of the whole movement, in its widest sense, and be able to link everyday developments of the world's news with her own propaganda, and so keep a vital hold upon the country newspapers throughout the State, so that they will continue to welcome her contributions, because of the news value that her adroitness gives to them.

For the Chairman of the Committee on Literature, who must decide upon the leaflets or pamphlets to be published, not only a woman of literary ability is needed, but one of wide outlook on life, one who knows the different interests of various parts of the State, and is quick to see what groups of people can be reached in different ways, and what points should be emphasized for each group. The literature should fit those for whom it is intended. The principal leaflet which we used in circularizing the teachers and the National Education Association Convention, which met in San Francisco, was written by one of the best-known teachers of the State, and our leaflet for farmers and fruitgrowers was written by one who had been prominently identified with the agricultural interests of the State for years. A Chairman of literature who is resourceful in arranging for this type of original material for propaganda will, by this quality, add nothing to the expenses of her department and will keep the material fresh and adapted to local interests.

A Treasurer must, of course, be a woman experienced in the keeping of accurate accounts; and an inflexible rule should be made by the board that no bill shall be audited or paid unless the purpose for which the expenditure was made is written upon it. For instance, a bill for printing should bear on its face the date and name of the particular meeting for which the expense was incurred.

No greater piece of good fortune can befall any League than to secure a campaign treasurer like ours.

One of the gravest puzzles of organization is involved in the effort to attain a thorough coöperation between all the different

suffrage societies of a State or city. How much time and effort can be wisely expended in harmonizing the work and plans of all? In an effort to attain such coöperation we had an Interleague Conference, formed of representatives from all of the societies for equal suffrage in San Francisco, and we found that this body of eighteen was much too large for swift decisions, on a variety of complex activities. It is inevitable that the most conservative, or the most obstructive, members of such a group must either be converted, or swept along protesting, by the more enterprising majority. A small body of strong representatives should gain much by a short weekly conference, and if the chairman insists that no new plan can be submitted, except in writing, and that no member may speak more than once to a motion—until all have spoken—it is possible to control the waste of time to some extent. Perhaps the best plan is to coöperate on matters that show an unmistakable gain from large concerted action, such a plan as election day work at the polls, and to leave separate plans to be handled by each group, reporting upon them, in a very general way, at the weekly conference, to prevent any unfortunate interference of dates or engagements. With frankness and forethought there need not be the least rivalry between people who are all working for one end, and something is certainly gained by the experience of special groups in planning for the sort of people whose needs and interests they know best.

In all of the work, it should be borne in mind that a suffrage campaign is an educational campaign and must be kept clear-cut, clean and open. Invite interested members of the society, from time to time, to the meetings of your board, or executive committee. Every campaign will develop workers of good judgment and enthusiasm who will be invaluable assets in the work, and though such a worker may not become a voting member of the directorate, she should be made so welcome a guest at your councils that you can avail yourself of her experience and suggestions. No chairman of an important committee should ever be excluded from the board. Unity of aim and method, harmonious progress of plan and development can be attained only in this way. An intelligent visitor, who is present during the discussion of an important policy, who hears the pros and cons as they are advanced, gains a comprehension of a situation which is apt to bring both herself, and, eventually, the group to which she belongs, into harmony with the board's carefully worked out policy. Full and accurate information about any of the plans of the organization should be easily accessible to all members, and they should be encouraged to get a working knowledge of the progress of the work.

The president should remember that she is, first of all, presiding officer of the board, and that her chief duty is to see that the business of the board is conducted as quickly and efficiently as possible.

She should not hesitate to use her gavel, nor to hold members of the board to business methods of debate and procedure. But she will weaken her board as a whole, and, therefore, her organization, if she assumes duties and responsibilities and makes decisions that rightfully devolve upon the board. She should never be drawn into any conference or correspondence that is not known to her directors, and that may not be freely told to any member. In this way, only, can she command the respect and confidence of her fellow-workers, and upon this depends the position of her organization in the outside world. She must remember that no one person can develop a strong organization, and that her function is to bring out in her board and in her membership the spirit of good team-work. She must bring as many members as possible to the front—giving them as far as possible opportunities to carry out plans that enlist their special capabilities, and accord to them due credit for all such work. Let her not be afraid to put responsibility on others.

The president may well consider herself an understudy to every committee chairman and should stand ready to fill in gaps and avert failures in any work that has been undertaken, always bearing in mind that the committee should, when it is possible, be made to do its own work. It is more essential that a president sees that no piece of work, to which her league has put its hand or its name, fails, than that she inaugurate many new enterprises.

Above all, every worker for equal suffrage must believe in equal suffrage as a great, world-wide movement—an essential part of a moral and spiritual awakening; believe in it so firmly that faith begets courage and enthusiasm; and never forget that because it is a great, educational movement the foundation of work must be laid with all sincerity and truth.

Charlotte Anita Whitney, President.

PRESS WORK IN THE CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN.

The press work for the California campaign began almost five years before there was any campaign and this seed sowing may be done in any State long before a suffrage amendment is secured. When I took up the press work in California in 1906 it had been ten years since any systematic press work had been done in the State. In 1896 there had been a suffrage campaign in California which had been lost. At that time vigorous press work had been done by Ida Husted Harper, National Press Chairman, who was in California during the campaign, but of all the California papers which had published press matter at that time only thirteen remained on the list which was forwarded to me on application at National Headquarters. Mrs. Austin Sperry, the then president of the California State Suffrage Association, had asked me several times previous to 1906 to take the press chairmanship as I had been a newspaper woman. I had always selfishly refused on the ground that I was too busy.

After the earthquake and fire in San Francisco in 1906 I found myself with more time on my hands than I had ever had before or ever expect to have again. There were no street cars or telephones in the city; almost everyone I knew had left town for places where more comforts were to be had; I lived on a little island entirely surrounded by miles of burnt homes; there were no theaters, no parties, no distractions of any kind. Feeling it our duty to remain in the city during the reconstruction period I said to myself, "What can I do for suffrage?" and the press work occurred to me. I told Mrs. Sperry I would undertake it and was at once appointed press chairman for the entire State. A letter to the National produced the slender list of the faithful thirteen to which the National had been sending its news notes for ten years. From a newspaper I borrowed the latest newspaper directory and found that there were about 700 papers in California. The National sent me a copy of a letter which had been used successfully in asking editors to use suffrage matter. This letter contained a brief list of questions which the editor was asked to answer. With it I enclosed a sample of the sort of matter the National sent out with a stamped and addressed envelope for reply. I had 700 copies of this letter and the list of questions printed so that they looked as though each sheet had been typewritten, I wrote in the editor's name and the name of the paper on a typewriter and signed all the letters. I have some copies of both letter and question list which I should be glad to furnish on application. The National furnished me the thousand copies of news matter which I enclosed with the letters. The four-

teen hundred envelopes were addressed and the press work of California was started.

Almost 400 of the editors replied and most of the replies were favorable—that is, the editors agreed to print at least part of the matter which would be regularly sent. Some were willing to take it weekly, some fortnightly and some only monthly. Very few wrote saying they did not want it. Those who were violently opposed to suffrage probably threw the letter in the waste basket, though a few felt that the two-cent return envelope bound them morally to reply. After waiting a certain length of time I went over the list and sent a second letter to those from whom I had not heard at all. A good proportion of replies was received from these men, the first letter having probably been buried under the debris of the editorial desk.

From that time, weekly, or fortnightly or monthly for five years the press matter went out regularly. At first all the material was that published by the National and furnished free to any State association which will distribute it. There was always criticism of the character of the articles from certain local women who knew nothing of the traditions of suffrage and had not been trained under the great leaders. They thought the matter supplied to the local papers should be local in character—news that Mrs. So and So was organizing a suffrage club in San Francisco. I held that what we wanted in the papers was propaganda and that the fact that suffrage was working well in Colorado, with some of the laws initiated by the women voters, and that Norway had just enfranchised its women, was important for California men to know and that the fact that suffrage was gaining so largely all over the world—a fact unknown to those who did not read a suffrage paper—was most important in breaking down prejudice. For five years the men in the interior of California got little notes on the progress of equal suffrage mixed in with all their news. They became accustomed to the idea that equal suffrage was being adopted everywhere and to-day they know far more on the subject than city men who consider themselves so well informed. Occasionally when something of real importance in suffrage affairs happened in California, which was not often in those days, I would have the item typewritten and include it in the service. After *Progress,* which used to be used as part of the news service, was absorbed by the *Woman's Journal,* we used marked copies of portions of the *Journal* for our newspapers. While the material in the *Journal* was excellent, the form was not as good for republication as the multigraphed sheets furnished by the National Press Bureau. There is always a certain prejudice against using reprint matter and if a State could afford it and wished to use the National service it would be wiser to select extracts from the

Journal and have them multigraphed. The importance of neat-looking copy, ready to set up, and short items, cannot be overestimated.

This steady pounding by means of the local press went on weekly for almost five years. Then suddenly, almost unexpectedly, our amendment went through the legislature and we found ourselves at the beginning of the shortest campaign any State has ever had to face. Only eight months in which to cover the largest State in the Union except Texas—only eight months to do propaganda work which many States had failed to do in two years! None of our existing associations were officered throughout as they would have been had we foreseen a campaign, for many women who will not take office in an "off" year will take it when the battle is hot.

As soon as the amendment went through, Southern California became very active from a suffrage standpoint and appointed a press chairman of its own to handle the counties south of the Tehachapi pass, which forms a sort of natural division of the State. Up to this time I had been supplying the papers of Southern California as well as of Central and Northern California, but I now sent a list of the papers I had been supplying to the Southern California chairman and relinquished that field to her.

I felt that now that a campaign was on the thing to do was to secure a press chairman in every county—some good worker who would see that the material was used in her county papers. The ideal person was of course one sufficiently prominent to have influence with the local papers, but influence and industry do not always go hand in hand. There are forty-eight counties in Northern and Central California and I set as my standard securing a chairman for every one. This time no printed or multigraphed letter would do. As fast as I heard of names of women who believed in suffrage I wrote personal, appealing letters. Sometimes a prompt acceptance came, sometimes a curt or "too busy" refusal. More often, no answer came at all. I knew that my letters had been received for all bore a return address. Sometimes twenty letters went to a single county before a chairman was secured. During this time we were continuing the service to the individual editors, but as fast as chairmen were secured the county was checked out and the material sent to the county chairman. The weakness of my former press method was that we had no way of knowing how much of our material was being used. When we started the press work we asked each paper to put us on its mailing list, on the theory that they would value our press material more if we asked them for something in exchange and did not do it entirely gratis. But though they promised, comparatively few of the papers were received and these irregularly. When we did secure copies of the country papers we often found our material in type and from that we judged that it was being rather extensively

used. A press clipping bureau is not of much value in the early stages of press work, for the items are small and inconspicuous and easily overlooked. The ideal way, of course, would be to subscribe for each paper, but few States, especially those with no campaign on, would have money enough for this.

As soon as a press chairman was secured she was asked to write to each editor in her county asking him to use regularly the material she would send him until the day of election. As soon as she received the editorial answer the press chairman notified me of the number of papers she was to supply and where there were two or more in the same town she notified me of that also, for, of course, two or three weekly papers in the same town will not print the same items but must have different news of equal value. All this data was put under the chairman's name under the name of her county. During six months I secured seventy press chairmen. In many of the larger and more populous counties I had two or three. Sometimes one woman would supply the county seat papers and some other woman would take the rest of the county. Some active press chairmen secured their own assistants. Most of the assistants I secured. At the end of the campaign I had every county in Northern California except one organized for the press work. How I worked to get that one county and complete my list! But I never was able to secure the name of a single suffragist in that county. Had I not been so busy I should have inserted an advertisement in the one county paper. I sent the material direct to the one paper in the county and think it must have been published for the county—a very remote, sparsely populated mountain county —carried for suffrage.

I continued to use the National material throughout the campaign but of course added largely to it. Many of my county chairmen, like Mrs. Finley of Santa Rosa, Mrs. Eversole of Ukiah, Mrs. Martin of Santa Rosa, Mr. Edward Berwick of Pacific Grove, Dr. Frances Louise Newton of Woodland, Dr. Goodwin of Stockton, and Mrs. Steele of Siskiyou, wrote well and contributed much original matter to the columns they supplied. I was delighted to have them do this yet my aim was to supply enough matter so that any earnest, capable woman, even though she were without literary ability, could keep her papers well supplied. During the last five months of the campaign I wrote hundreds of editorials and California news items, keeping all as short as possible. At first I had these typewritten for the county chairmen, but as the number of these increased every week, as did the number of papers they served, typewriting became too onerous for my amateur helpers and too expensive to pay for. After that the matter was multigraphed, and every week my little girl and I folded at least five hundred pages of printed matter and sometimes many more for

the county press service. The clipping bureau was now of great service and enabled me to keep track of what my chairmen were doing. If the papers of the different counties did not show up well in the weekly batch of clippings I wrote to my chairman to find out what was the matter and if she was found inefficient replaced her. The vast majority did perfectly splendid work and at the end of the campaign the clippings averaged a thousand a day for some days.

This sort of ceaseless hammering cannot but have its effect. One effect of the early press work, however, was that the editors themselves were converted as we found when we began to do country organizing. Usually the local editors and the local clergymen were the best suffragists in the town. The anti-suffragists tried to do their press work from a central press bureau in San Francisco and flooded the country papers with their arguments and literature during the last six weeks. Very little of this found its way into print and the antis complained bitterly that they could not get "fair play" in the country papers. The fact of the matter was that ninety per cent. of the editors were, by this time, suffragists and were just as anxious to have the amendment pass as we were. I don't think twelve newspapers in Northern California published the anti items, for I saw the anti clippings as well as our own.

In Ukiah there was a strong anti paper edited by Senator Sanford, who had bitterly opposed the amendment in the Senate. We answered all of his editorials in the two rival Ukiah papers, or in the Sacramento papers which are taken in Ukiah. His county was carried for suffrage. There was a rather strong anti paper in Lassen County. That county carried for suffrage. A good deal of anti matter was published in Salinas and in San Rafael. Outside of these places the publication of anti matter was negligible. Of course the papers which were representative of the liquor interests published reams of anti stuff, but no one saw it except people who were already against the amendment. I had one assistant, Miss M. Fay Coughlin, who spent all her time answering anti material as it appeared, correcting misstatements which appeared editorially or in news columns, and answering adverse editorials.

Much of the original editorial matter appearing in the local papers was excellent and the very best editorial on anti literature appeared in the Stockton Mail, when the editor of that paper gave his reasons for not publishing the anti press matter. That editorial I had syndicated and it appeared in hundreds of California papers.

Each San Francisco and Oakland paper, which agreed to use our matter, had a chairman of its own, but much of this space naturally was used for the publicity department of the College League, toward the end of the campaign, and came under a special chair-

man, Mrs. Orlow Black. Much of the regular country press service, however, appeared in the San Francisco papers as well. During the last six weeks of the campaign I spent much time getting statements of why they believed in suffrage from leading San Francisco men and women. These were signed and appeared in the Examiner in a special department edited by Miss Mary Fairbrother, secretary of the State Association. Practically all the leaders of the San Francisco bar contributed signed statements to this department, and many well known business men appeared as well. Among others Mr. James Lees Laidlaw, the New York banker, sent me a five hundred word telegram, which was published above his signature. This was marked with blue pencil and sent to every officer and prominent employe of every bank around the bay, for we were not very popular in banking circles.

One effect which we made was, I consider, a complete failure. We spent eighty dollars in two weekly installments with a press association which furnishes ready set type to the country newspapers. Two or three women from the country had written to ask that we send suffrage material in this form to the country papers, as such material saves the paper the expense of setting up type and is sometimes used when matter to be set would not be used. I made careful selection of papers in which we had not had much space and sent a column of matter to almost sixty papers for two weeks just before the close of the campaign. So far as I know we had not more than five columns published. This was rather expensive—a rate of sixteen dollars a column. It proved to me that if a paper really wanted to publish our matter, it would set it up. I should not advise ready set up matter unless suffrage material could be inserted in New York or some central place whence come the "patent insides" so largely used by country newspapers.

Another warning—do not pay to get your matter inserted in papers. If you pay one, all the others come down on you like a flock of vultures. If a county paper refuses to publish suffrage matter except as an advertisement let it go, even if it does seem important. You only lose friends by paying some papers and not paying others, and no suffrage association can afford to pay all.

As to the expense of the press work. During the five years of quiet press work, the work cost only five or six dollars a week, not including the printing of envelopes. During the six months of the active campaign it cost from ten to twenty dollars a week, but it was well worth it.

Almost every paper of prominence in California endorsed suffrage or remained neutral on the subject. The Los Angeles Times was always an enemy. One of the large Oakland papers was secretly opposed and at least one of the large San Francisco papers, perhaps two, would have been pleased to see the amendment defeated,

but so strong was the movement that none of these San Francisco bay papers dared to come out in opposition. It would have meant the loss of thousands of subscribers and the business managers knew it. The San Francisco Call endorsed suffrage editorially and made a spirited fight for the amendment. The Examiner advised the voters to vote for the amendment, as did the Post and the Bulletin. The Chronicle remained neutral and made no recommendation on our amendment. The Sacramento Bee did splendid service for suffrage and had a long list of very strong suffrage cartoons which undoubtedly did much to carry the Sacramento Valley. The Sacramento Star was our friend, so was the Union. So were The Star and the Daily News in San Francisco—organs of Union Labor—so was the Oakland Enquirer, and the San Jose Mercury. The list is as long as it is splendid and I wish that all might be enumerated here.

The last week of the campaign we were prepared for the usual "roorback"—the eleventh-hour campaign fiction which is the device of shifty politicians the world over. This had been effectively used in Oregon by the antis and consisted there in the assertion published broadcast in the country papers of Oregon that Colorado and the other equal suffrage States had not increased in population since they adopted equal suffrage. Of course, the statement is not true, but it had great effect in Oregon, as that State is very anxious, like all Western States, to grow. Of course, we could not know what particular form the fiction machine of the antis would take in California, but the last weeks of the campaign I guarded all the avenues I could think of and simply flooded the country papers with facts about Colorado—its great growth, the high wages for men and women which prevail there, its good laws—everything we could find that was favorable to Colorado, as we thought the antis would probably choose something from Colorado to attack. But they did not. Instead, not having any machinery in the country, they made use of the big city papers to come out with full page advertisements on the morning before election. In these display ads. they published misquotations and partial quotations from Judge Lindsey's book, "The Beast," and from eastern leaders of the suffrage movement, including Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Blatch. The quotation from "The Beast" was designed to make it appear that equal suffrage was a failure in Colorado and the quotations from the ladies were incendiary and designed to make the ignorant voter believe that the suffrage leaders were unsafe persons to follow. It was interesting that the antis made no quotations from speeches made by the California leaders, though hundreds of thousands of suffrage speeches had been made during the six months just closed. We held a hasty council of war, denied the quotations in friendly sheets and exposed the quotation from "The Beast," showing how garbled it was, but decided not to publish our reply in the form of an advertisement, though we had

the money, because it seemed to us that no fair-minded man would pay any attention to anything appearing in the form of a paid advertisement at the last moment. Had the statements been true they would, of course, have appeared earlier in the campaign when we could have answered them.

My advice to other States, summed up briefly, would be: Get local women to look after local papers; be sure to have a far-sighted woman in control, because inestimable harm may be done by a wrong move; begin early and keep hammering on "How it works." Few people deny the justice of equal suffrage nowadays; all the argument turns on expediency. I think signed statements of local magnates, telling why they believe in equal suffrage, are most important. Each prominent man and woman has a following.

Among the most popular material sent out were the suffrage songs and short suffrage poems; news items which were suggestive to women in the country towns, such as getting tradesmen to put up suffrage leaflets in their packages; a description of the Suffrage Float in the Labor Day parade in San Francisco; a description of the San Francisco shop-windows, decorated for suffrage; short items on the antis, as, for instance, that "the founding of an anti-suffrage society is like forming an association not to discover the South Pole." This last item went the rounds of California as an editorial note.

My last installment to the country chairman included this "Appeal," which was published in almost every country paper in California. It was much more personal than most of the work I had sent out, and, perhaps, for that reason was more effective.

"Appeal of the California Women.

"The women of California appeal to the fair-minded, clean-souled men of California to help the women defeat the vicious elements of the slums of the larger California cities, on October tenth. The appeal is made especially to the men of the smaller towns and the country districts. The organized vicious interests have concentrated and are spending a quarter of a million dollars in San Francisco and Oakland in an effort to defeat the woman suffrage amendment on October tenth. What does this mean? It means that every brothel keeper, every keeper of a dive and low saloon, feels that it will be bad for 'business' if women have the ballot. Fair-minded men of California, in favor of the square deal, vote for Senate Amendment number 8, fourth place on the ballot, on October tenth, and see that every man that you know votes for it, too. Unless the men of the country help the womanhood of California the splendid fight the California women have made will go down to defeat by the purchasable and slum vote of the great cities."

Mabel Craft Deering, Chairman.

REPORT ON THE HEARING BEFORE THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE.

The work of placing the suffrage plank in the Progressive Republican platform was done by the pioneer suffrage organizations of Northern and Southern California, and the honor lies with them. The work of the College League for Suffrage came when the bill was before the Legislature.

The first work we did was to send a suffrage letter to every member of the Legislature, signed by the officers of our league.

Then, as college women, we made a direct appeal to the college men. Fortunately, the power in the Legislature was in their hands. The Governor, the Speaker of the House, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee and many of the leaders on the floor were graduates of the State University. So our College League members, scattered all over the State, wrote letters to their friends and classmates in the Legislature. Some sent telegrams, others night letters; in every way we told them we wanted the vote. In many cases encouraging answers came to the league from these letters.

Our next appeal was to the legislators through leading newspapers of the State Capital, with the three following advertisements, written by Miss F. W. McLean:

California Branch National College Equal Suffrage League Urges

Equal Suffrage

for

MEN and WOMEN

WHY?

Women Need It.

Men Need It.

The State Needs It.

BECAUSE

WOMEN ought to GIVE their help.

MEN ought to HAVE their help.

The STATE ought to USE their help.

California Branch National College Equal Suffrage League

Urges the Bill Submitting Full Equal Suffrage to the Voters of California.

What women need the ballot?

The WAGE EARNER to protect her industrial interests!

The MOTHER to protect her children's interests!

The HOUSEKEEPER to protect the household interests!

The TAXPAYER to protect her property interests!

The PHILANTHROPIST to protect human interests!

ONE CAUSE of our lack of civic patriotism is the excess of women teachers in the schools.

THE REMEDY is not to dismiss the teachers, but to change their idiotic political classification.

85 per cent. of the public school teachers in California are women.

The public school must teach citizenship. Is it fair to ask disfranchised individuals to teach citizenship?

California Branch National College Equal Suffrage League Urges the Bill

SUBMITTING FULL EQUAL SUFFRAGE TO THE VOTERS OF CALIFORNIA

—Pure Food—
—Pure Water—
—Clean Milk—
—Clean Streets—
—Adequate Garbage System—
—Good Schools—

Are these not matters of the HOME?

Who controls these things?

City officials.

Who elects city officials?

Men.

Is this fair to the women?

Who are responsible as HOME keepers?

Women are HOME keepers, but they are citizens also.

The right use of the ballot helps right care of the HOME.

These advertisements cost twenty-five dollars.

At this point the president of the Woman's Suffrage Party telegraphed, asking us to send representatives, at twenty-four hours' notice, to appear at the hearing of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. Miss Anita Whitney, Miss Ethel Moore, Mrs. Walter Starr and I responded, although both we and our friends felt that we were doing a daring thing. Not one of had ever made a suffrage speech, not one of us had ever seen a Legislature. Up to this time, the activities of the League had been confined to polite discussions in fashionable drawing-rooms and hotels, in most impersonal and conservative tones.

The hearing before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate was set for the evening of January the eighteenth. We four met on the early morning train, armed with suffrage literature. We did not know which one of us would be called on to speak, so we divided up the material according to our individual preferences, and each one of us was prepared, in a sense, by the time we arrived in Sacramento.

When we reached the capitol we learned that the hearing had been moved to the Senate Chamber. At this moment Mr. Braly, of Los Angeles, a powerful friend to our cause, came to us to offer his services. Mrs. Charles Farwell Edson, also of Southern California, in whose hands had been placed the framing of the entire program of the suffrage side of the evening's debate, sent word that the College League could have five minutes for its appeal to the committee. Our group decided that the time be divided between Miss Moore and me; so we again worked over our material.

When the hour for the hearing came, the gallery, aisles and lobby of the Senate Chamber were filled with men and women, standing to hear the California women represent the two sides of the question. Pages ran back and forth, and there was the stir and repressed excitement of an occasion. Mr. John W. Stetson, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, sat on the rostrum. Senator Lee Gates announced the debate of the evening, and presented Mrs. Edson, of Los Angeles, who introduced, in turn, one after another of the group of California women who spoke for suffrage. The speakers had been chosen to give representation to as many kinds of California women as there was time for on the program.

Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, of San Francisco, opened the debate; Miss Maude Younger spoke in behalf of the working women; then came Miss Moore, who spoke from her experience of her work for children in the State. My plea for suffrage was for the sake of the women themselves—that they needed the ballot for their own development. The next speaker, Mrs. Coffin, representing the California Suffrage Association, appealed to the legislators to stand by the suffrage plank in their party platform. Mrs. Shelby Tollhurst, of Los Angeles, closed the debate with brilliance and conviction. Then

Mrs. Caswell, the only speaker on the anti-suffrage side, arose and with dignity read a paper for fifty minutes, giving nearly as many reasons why all women, and California women in particular, were unfit for the ballot. She was warmly applauded, and then the chairman adjourned the committee.

On January 26th, the Senate voted on the bill—35 for it to 5 against; on February 2nd it came up for final decision in the Assembly.

Assemblyman Rogers of San Francisco—an ex-pugilist—addressed his opposition in the form of cross-questioning Speaker Hewitt:

"Does it take 54 votes to pass this measure?"

"It does."

"Then tell me, are there 54 men in this Assembly weak enough to be led by women?"

"I don't know if there are 54," answered the Speaker, "but I know there is one."

When the roll was called there were 65. The vote stood 65-5, and the decision as to the right of suffrage for women was before the men of California. *Cornelia McKinne Stanwood.*

REPORT OF DRAMATIC COMMITTEE.

The English play, "How the Vote Was Won," was in rehearsal while the suffrage amendment was still before the Legislature and was presented for the first meeting of the campaign in San Francisco, the afternoon of February 4th, before members and guests of the College Equal Suffrage League to a "capacity house."

In order to assure the success of the play the cast was selected with great care both as to ability and social prominence. It was the humor of the play that appealed to every one. Amid shouts of laughter we enlisted for our cause the sympathies of the audience, and before the afternoon was over enrolled many new members for the League. Following this initial performance the play was repeated by the company of amateurs fourteen times in San Francisco and in towns about the bay, as invited by colleges, clubs and other organizations. Early in our histrionic career two of the cast, Mrs. W. A. Starr and Mrs. Edward Stanwood, wrote the new version of the dance-song, "Reuben and Rachel."

We found the ideal program a straight suffrage talk of twenty minutes, or two fifteen minute talks, then the song and dance—"Reuben and Rachel"—and then the play. Several times audiences had been beguiled to see the play, not knowing it was suffrage, and the promoters had not dared to force upon them serious argument, too.

As interest in our performances spread, there was demand from all over the State for copies of the play. Other groups gave the play in Los Angeles, Pasadena, Fresno, Colusa, San Jose, Stockton, Parkfield, Nordhoff, Hayward and Martinez.

To open a suffrage campaign at any time we recommend strongly this same play for overcoming prejudice because it is so much more amusing than any other suffrage play that we know. We read at least a dozen, some submitted locally, others sent from the East, and others ordered from England.

Under our auspices "The Converting of Senator Jones," by Miss Mary Lambert, of Oakland, was given at Yountville, and "Lady Geraldine's Speech," by Beatrice Harraden, was given twice in Piedmont.

After all "the play's the thing," and if you can arouse interest and hearty laughter at the same time, so much the better.

Marion Craig Wentworth read "Ariane et Barbe Bleue," by Maeterlinck, also the third act of "Votes for Women," in San Francisco under the auspices of the League. Although this admirable program was beautifully rendered, the audience was not as large as it should have been. Just as on the only two occasions when admission was charged for "How the Vote Was Won," people were not willing to pay to be converted to suffrage.

The last venture of the dramatic committee was the Pageant of Progress in Piedmont Park, Saturday afternoon, September 23rd.

The five scenes might be called: Woman in Paganism, Woman in Feudalism, Woman in the State, Woman in the New World, Votes for Women.

There were three hundred participants, men, women and children from all walks of life—university circles, fraternal orders, professional and society women, high school students, playground children—different localities, Berkeley, Oakland, Alameda, providing different scenes. The chairman of each scene was a good suffragist, but hardly any of the other participants had ever before been associated in any way with the suffrage movement.

As the object of the pageant was to arouse interest rather than to make money, the committee decided in order to draw a crowd that it would be better to charge an admission only sufficient to cover the expenses, which in the end amounted to $340, chiefly for costumes, music and printing.

The many performances of the play "How the Vote Was Won" were financed on the same principle. In order to present our sugar-coated pill before as large audiences as possible, the cast was willing to go anywhere for expenses, or an average of ten dollars a performance. As it happened, that was all the organizations were willing to pay, or, in some cases, could afford to pay. Our houses were almost without exception full to overflowing, aggregating, at a moderate estimate, between ten and twelve thousand persons.

Ethel Moore, Chairman.

REPORT ON PANKHURST MEETING.

At a League meeting on the 4th of March we were told that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was in Los Angeles; that she, like her mother and sister, was a good and persuasive speaker and would come to us for $300 a night. We saw that a vivid narrative of the militant suffrage movement in England would make a good foil to our own bloodless campaign in California, and would turn popular attention sharply to the subject of "Votes for Women."

Another group of fellow-workers for political equality agreed to take charge of a San Francisco meeting for Miss Pankhurst, and sent a delegate to us asking that we join with them to make a "big success of one meeting in town"; but our directors felt that some striking piece of propaganda was needed to open the campaign in Oakland, Berkeley and Alameda, so they decided to sign with Miss Pankhurst's manager for the evening of March 11th, for Oakland.

When arrangements were made by wire with Miss Pankhurst's manager, less than six highly-saturated days remained in which to make plans, for it was March and the rain fell. Our committee counted a scant score and we were only known to each other as people—not as workers, which is quite another thing. It seemed a colossal undertaking to the handful of us who made ourselves responsible for the lecture, with its five hundred dollars of inevitable expense. But it was well that our work began under disadvantages for it was a trumpet-call, and whatever of ingenuity or hardihood was in us was swept right into action.

We found that every theatre or hall of any size in Oakland had already been engaged for Saturday evening, March 11th, but finally, after prolonged efforts, a new theatre was especially opened, with the paint still wet upon it, to receive the English suffragist.

The rest of that hurry-call for Sylvia Pankhurst was an effort to get the lecture before the people, and in that five days of downpour what a skirmish it was! Billboard posters are unquestionably a good method of quick advertising, so a hopeful committee went to the sign-painter.

"It'll take four days to get your bills out," he explained, "and in this weather a bill won't stick on a board anyhow—they'll peel right off."

Street-car signs and electric street signs are effective. Do you know what they cost? We learned. Newspaper advertising reaches more people than any other sort. A good amusement display in the dailies would cost as much as several delightful evenings with the English suffragette.

Absolutely the only thing left was dodgers, dodgers by the ten

thousands, and the incredibly difficult and disagreeable task of distributing them.

And so, as the only possible way to reach the public in time, a small group of college women gathered up the huge piles of yellow leaflets, "piles," as one of them said, "too big to think of disposing of except by burning," and started forth to distribute them on the streets of Oakland, Berkeley and Alameda. Sometimes on foot, sometimes in automobiles, always in the rain, they worked for hours, worked until they were stopped by the awful news that they were violating a city ordinance by giving out handbills on the street. After that the distributing was done by the yet slower process of going from shop to shop and leaving them only where they were welcome. In this way hundreds more were disposed of.

One member of the league sent her maid to the small town where the girl had lived, with a great bundle of the handbills, while she stayed at home and cooked dinner in her place, and the maid distributed announcements among her friends; another householder made out lists of every tradesman she owed anything to, or ever dealt with, and after ordering and paying, asked that dodgers, which she supplied, should be wrapped with the tradesmen's parcels for the next two days. To the children of the family and their nurses she gave more of the handbills to distribute from door to door.

Window-card announcements had to be placed in the three towns. One white-haired member of the League, who from early womanhood had looked forward with bright eyes to this day of happy consummation, was allowed to place cards of announcement at the very gates of the State University. "It made me remember," she said, "the way I was treated twenty years ago when I was trying to get signatures for a petition for equal suffrage to be brought before the New York Legislature. It made me know that the world does move."

As a result of it all, in doubtful weather, more than a thousand people paid for their seats and crowded to the Pankhurst lecture.

This was our first large College Equal Suffrage League meeting, and more difficult, perhaps, than any other because purchasers had to be found for more than a thousand tickets. All expenses of advertising, theatre hire and the lecturer's fee were covered by the sale of tickets. It was a good omen for the future.

REPORT ON CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS.

The very first word on the subject of headquarters is an earnest plea for extravagance. Yes, be extravagant. Discount your future. That is if you are a live suffrage organization with plenty of young, vigorous blood—and of course you are; and if your campaign is a vital issue in the community—which of course it will be, for you will make it so.

When the College Equal Suffrage League sent out a committee to select and furnish headquarters, the committee looked askance at all the commodious, sunny rooms and offices and hurried by with the feeling that we must rent the very cheapest quarters that "would do." And of course our idea of what would do was based on our resources at the moment, and on our slumberous membership of two hundred.

We finally selected two small, back rooms with a guilty feeling that we should have been content with one, although the money for the six months, until the end of the campaign, had been promptly subscribed—most of it at the rate of five dollars a month from a few members of the League. We had in hand $45.00 for the rental of two rooms; we estimated that the telephone would cost $5.00 a month (the item of our telephone amounted to from $20.00 to $40.00 per month).

Had we to do it over again, with the knowledge that our membership would increase 800%, we should probably have rented three rooms—sunny rooms, some of them—on a main street, where our windows would have been an effective advertising feature.

With such an arrangement, one of the rooms could have been used for the almost incessant conferences of officers and committees. The telephone, which is a great interrupter, could have been enclosed in a booth. Another room should have been set aside for the executive secretary, and there the thousands of pieces of literature could be received, stacked and sold, or distributed without cost; and buttons, pennants, posters and postals could be sold and accurate account kept of these transactions.

In this second room there should also be a long, very long table for the selection and folding of literature to be mailed to voters, school teachers and clubs of various sorts. This work was accomplished by us through the volunteer services of devoted members, who were crowded together in a small room, working at a table piled with miscellaneous matter; there was the din of a score of eager voices, a typewriter and a telephone creating a small but effective pandemonium. It is true, a crowded chaos like this creates a certain zest, and though you follow with difficulty the consecutive narrative of the "envelope stuffer" on your right, and the earnest diatribe

directed at the then-reigning sex, from the lightning folder of dodgers on your left, nevertheless you do respond with a thrill to the impact of a score of conversational fragments on your eardrum; and the composite impression produced upon you makes you feel, "We are really doing a splendid lot of work, and we're bound to win."

The third room could be effectively used by the volunteer hostesses of the day, or the clerk, if you have one. The typewriter and her machine should be installed here. Here, also, in a booth, should be the first telephone connection, the later connection being in the officers' room. Every plan of headquarter arrangement should, of course, be directed to the saving of the time of the president and of the more essential committee chairmen.

I spoke of volunteer hostesses. The idea is a good one, when it works. We selected for this service from our membership twelve women, conscientious and gracious, who promised to give a certain morning or afternoon of each week to headquarters, to receive the increasing stream of inquiring visitors. The presence of these women—dedicated to being pleasant—not only took the strain of interruption from clerks and formal headquarter officials, who had actual tasks to accomplish under pressure of time, but by their serenity gave to the visitor that sense of welcome that a preoccupied officer could scarcely give. The hostess plan broke down at times, through pressure of other demands and through the defect, we, no doubt, lost recruits that would have been of great value.

Headquarter visitors are of every sort. There is the ambitious, male stranger who comes day after day to fold literature and gradually becomes importunate as to his qualifications as a public speaker, "for the cause." He dreams, no doubt, that "to get in on the ground floor" with these prospective citizens, would be to create a law practice, and to pave the way for future political honors.

There is the pretty High School student who gushingly asks for a button. "I saw a girl with one," she says, "and I thought it was a fraternity pin. It is so cute. Only five cents? Ain't they sweet? She told me I could get them in this building and I went all over it, an' then I asked the elevator boy, and he said to come here. I think they're awful cute. Oh no, I don't want to join. I just want a pin."

Then there are scores of women—every type represented—who come in to have their long smothered desire for "equality before the law" galvanized into action and directed toward its goal, the ballot.

To take care of these women, to see that the round and square pegs are slipped each into her fitting hole, requires, in the manager of headquarters, not only executive ability, but a capacity for patient discrimination. *Londa Stebbins Fletcher,* Chairman.

SUPPLYING SPEAKERS.

One of the headquarters' demands that with us grew until it outgrew all bounds, came in the demand for speakers. As our traveling organizers stimulated interest in hearing more discussion of the pending legislation, and each day formed new suffrage clubs, the telephone thrilled from morning until night with messages that urged, requested or demanded speakers for the country towns and remote county seats.

In the thick of an active campaign it seems intolerable to think of sparing one good worker for any single task, but this one really requires all the time and attention of a clear-headed, tactful woman. To keep the dates and routes of twenty speakers straight, week after week, to sort out speakers according to the tastes and needs of various localities, to substitute, apologize and make peace, to send the Democrat to the Democrats and to keep the silver-tongued bore contented and innocuous at home, all that requires the genius of a maker of railroad schedules, added to a good working knowledge of human nature.

The first thing that such a chairman should do, is to make out a complete list of all available speakers and the times that they can serve, afternoons, evenings or week-ends—at home or abroad. Each name should be entered with a little history of the speaker, political affiliations, business interests, Union Labor proclivities, Church leanings; it will all help in picking out a man for the country demand. If a group asks to be sent a particular person every effort should be made to send them what they want. All communications with these new-fledged suffrage societies must be ceremoniously polite, nothing has so few skins as a new-born suffrage club, and a fancied rebuff from central headquarters may extinguish their "brief candle" beyond hope of re-lighting. We need these children of our zeal so much more than they can possibly need us, that their nurture is worth our best pains.

In addition to jottings kept for her own use, the chairman should keep in readiness short typewritten biographies and newspaper cuts of the more prominent speakers, for use in the country papers. This will be the means of getting good write-ups of approaching meetings, and as the cuts will be returned by the papers and can be used repeatedly, the expense is easily carried. We found that by paying expressage and postage and small items of that sort we got better service and more notice than would be possible if a small economy were practiced.

It is not a bad idea to keep on hand a short outline for conducting country meetings. Suggestions for taking up a collection quickly, for having speakers introduced by local men, and for having

well-known people of a neighborhood on the platform at public meetings. Again and again we found that the people in a small town did not know how their own townsmen stood on woman suffrage until one of these platform gatherings revealed them to each other, and warmed them into a heartier interest.

The importance of this piece of work is all that can reconcile a clever woman to carrying it through, but there is no place where good judgment will count more in results.

REPORT ON SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC MEETINGS.

During the last six months of the campaign, the College Equal Suffrage League held more than fifty public meetings. At the largest of these the attendance varied from 1,300 to 10,000. Each of these larger gatherings taxed the capacity of the halls, and in five instances hundreds of persons were turned away. In addition to the meetings which topped the thousand mark, there were scores of somewhat smaller ones held in resident neighborhoods, with programs especially adapted to local conditions. In almost every case where halls were hired (with seating capacity from two to five hundred) the demand for seats could not be fully met. At one of these neighborhood meetings, however, only forty or fifty people came, then it was that the resourceful chairman of the evening adjourned to a soapbox on the curb, the small but friendly audience following. Here several hundred people soon collected and what had threatened to be a failure blossomed into an impressive success.

The first of our large meetings, in San Francisco, was held at the Savoy Theatre, which had been given to us for the purpose, by the John Cort management. Dr. Charles F. Aked had just come to San Francisco, and the international reputation of the brilliant preacher had set San Francisco agog to hear him. By telegraphic appointment the enterprising Board of the College League gained Dr. Aked's promise to speak at this meeting. The Press Chairman for San Francisco understood the press value of this first secular appearance of Dr. Aked in California and used it to such effect that two hours before program-time men and women began to gather at the playhouse.

We realized that Dr. Aked would call out a conservative and well-to-do element, whose financial support we needed. Boxes were reserved for prominent people of both pro and anti factions. A box for the press, as became our invariable custom, assured the reporters a good hearing.

With the fire ordinance very nearly violated by the immense audience, which flowed over aisles and stairways, and with hundreds of disappointed people turned away from the doors, the College League's first meeting gave those who attended it confidence in the League's management, while Dr. Aked's stirring address stimulated them to know more of what he spoke. The full press notices which this success won did much to advertise the subject of equal suffrage.

It had been determined, after careful discussion, that to pass baskets through the audience might offend, so attention was called from the platform, to the fact that ushers would be found at all exits with baskets for contributions. But the small sum thus gathered from the beautifully gowned women and well-dressed men

crowding out, absorbed in eager discussion and apparently unconscious of the wistful, but timid, holders of coin-boxes, was so disappointing that shyness in the matter of passing the contribution box was banished. From that time collections were taken at all but two meetings, by means of baskets passed through the audience, and ushers also stationed themselves at exits, with their baskets held invitingly. The collection could be taken in five minutes, as the work was divided into many sections within which two ushers, from opposite sides, passed to each other their baskets, down alternating rows. Contributions were asked for after a stirring address. During the taking of the collection no diversion was offered, the attention of the audience was left undivided for the financial business in hand. During the rest of the campaign, collections, taken at public meetings in San Francisco and elsewhere in the State, amounted to $1231.83, given chiefly in small silver coins.

At this first meeting, as at all later ones, there was a large corps of member-ushers, wearing yellow satin badges marked "Usher," so stationed as to cover all work thoroughly, that the audience might be quickly and comfortably seated. For afternoon gatherings the ushers wore tailored, or semi-tailored, costumes, and for evening, full afternoon dress. They were always an effective group, and a convincing argument against the claim that the suffragist is not essentially feminine.

In addition to holding in reserve the boxes for especially invited persons, a section, of two or three orchestra rows, was always roped off for late-comers, with especial claim to attention, in which the ushers could seat old people, friends of speakers.

The steady success of the League's public meetings, from this time forward, was largely due to a careful selection of speakers especially suited to the audiences before which they were to speak, also to extensive advertisement of meetings, agreeable conditions of ventilation and lighting in halls, and efficient ushering. Our friends went from these meetings with fresh spirit for combat and fresh ammunition, and our opponents with bitterness sweetened by the welcome they had received. The large audiences forced us into the news columns of the papers, whatever their policy, and brought, even to home-stayers, summaries of brilliant pro-suffrage argument.

The second large meeting was held at the Central Theatre when the play, "How the Vote Was Won," managed by Miss Ethel Moore, was given. Hon. Thomas E. Hayden was the speaker. With the exception of this clever play, in itself an admirable suffrage argument, we decided that we would give no mere entertainment at our public meetings; every moment was needed to inform and convert. This Central Theatre meeting was advertised not only through press notices, but window cards were distributed through the city, printed on yellow cardboard, and setting forth in bold letters the program,

time and place. The meeting was meant for beginners in suffrage, and called out the audience for which it was planned.

The next meeting was one of the most important of the series, in view of the large Roman Catholic vote of San Francisco. The Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, pastor of the Church of St. Thomas Aquinas, Palo Alto, California, a young priest with a scholarly and a military record, was the speaker whose name was used to draw. About two hundred window cards were put out in the parts of town where the Catholic voters most lived. Courageous volunteers distributed small dodgers announcing Father Gleason's promised talk at the doors of every Roman Catholic church in the city, standing from five in the morning until eleven o'clock mass. The result was a packed house, Father Gleason being well known and his history making good press copy. Nearly 1500 people were in attendance. Boxes on this occasion were reserved for prominent supporters of the Roman Catholic Church, including men and women presidents of church societies, priests and nuns. Father Gleason's talk was afterward printed in part and used as campaign material, with excellent results.

A meeting to raise funds was planned to be held June 9th, in Scottish Rite Hall, a new and beautiful auditorium seating about 1700 people. The speakers selected were Dr. Charles F. Aked, Mrs. W. W. Douglas, Hon. William C. Ralston, U. S. Sub-treasurer, and Albert H. Elliot, a prominent attorney, former councilman in Oakland, and one of the makers of that city's new charter. Mrs. Alexander Morrison, National President of the Collegiate Alumnae, was chosen as chairman, and Miss Cornelia McKinne, now Mrs. Stanwood, asked for the collection. The gathering being planned to get moneyed patrons, a large number of vice-presidents, men prominent in professional and business life, were chosen. With this array of names to back us, invitations were printed and sent to a blue-book list, the names of vice-presidents appearing on the back of each card. The front section of seats was reserved for these especially invited guests, whose cards were marked, "Present to Usher." It was explained to the incoming crowd that "This section is reserved for the friends of the vice-presidents," and no one murmured. Window cards were used to announce this meeting, and the two thousand that crushed into the place, and the several hundred turned away, showed that the program was rightly chosen, while the hundreds of dollars which were poured into the baskets, in cash and in pledge cards, proved that we had reached those for whom we had planned. The expense of issuing invitations was justified. The value of our list of vice-presidents in attracting their friends to this meeting was not overestimated. The timorous gained courage from finding men that they esteemed, frankly avowing allegiance to Woman Suffrage.

At all meetings, large or small, pledge cards and membership cards were left on the seats, or passed through the audience just be-

fore the opening of the meeting. These were returned when the collection baskets came by, or as the subscriber left the auditorium. Suffrage leaflets were also given to every man and woman, as the audience left the theater. This was the cheapest and not least effective way that we circularized, since attendance upon a suffrage meeting gave slight evidence of awakened interest and the leaflets were generally taken with interest and not tossed aside near the hall.

Small meetings, large in attendance, but limited by hall capacity, were held for several months in residence sections of the city. These were advertised by the big papers and by the little journals of the neighborhood, as well as by window cards placed in the immediate neighborhood, and frequently by dodgers distributed at the doorways of several hundred homes.

We were told that we would find the Italian quarter of town hostile to our meetings. As preliminary to our invasion of that section we had several small home meetings, then the Rev. E. M. Walz lent the local Congregational church for two meetings; by that time we were ready to hire the Italian Theater, with a seating capacity of 1500. We used every available means of advertising the affair, by wagon transparencies sent through the district, by window cards in the local shops, and by dodgers in Italian. Automobile speakers, going through the neighborhood a day or so before, called the attention of hundreds to the opportunity to hear the subject discussed by distinguished men and women. Acting on the advice of those familiar with the neighborhood, we decided to take no collection, as we felt that this was an audience to be handled with circumspection. In building up this meeting incalculable service was done by a corps of prominent Italian ladies, many of them members of the Vittoria Colonna Club, in creating interest in the meeting and in suggesting how best to appeal to the Latin mind. Mindful of the people's love of music, the usual plan of "no mere entertainment" was not followed. During the evening a vocalist gave several operatic selections that the audience received warmly.

The meeting was called to order by a prominent Italian banking attorney, Emilio Lastredo, and he gave a short suffrage talk in Italian. He was followed by Ettore Patrizi, editor of *L'Italia,* the quarter's daily paper, who made an impassioned plea for our cause, speaking in his native tongue. Miss Margaret Haley, the "Chicago school teachers' Joan of Arc," Albert H. Elliot and J. Stitt Wilson, Berkeley's Socialist mayor, who always drew a crowd, completed the program. The theater was crowded to the doors, there being present, we were assured by the police and the quarter residents, "the largest gathering that had ever attended a political meeting in the Latin quarter."

A well-advertised meeting for the French voters was less well-attended and we began to see that with foreigners whose dwellings

were not closely massed, as with the Italians, the more economical method was to send speakers to their own gatherings, wherever opportunity could be made, rather than try to work up foreign audiences just to hear suffrage. It is, of course, much better to send speakers who understand the language to these gatherings, even when most of the foreigners can speak some English. Objections from the floor and galleries can be more effectively met.

All through the month of September small meetings multiplied in the Sunset district, in the Mission, at the Nurses' Settlement, wherever a small hall or a new group could be gathered. Two or three meetings were reached in the same evening by groups of speakers who exchanged places by crossing the city. Far out in the Mission, in the Union Street Valley, in the Harbor View District, in the Richmond District. To these remoter parts of the city we sent our best speakers, a small hall audience of five hundred would increase beyond the bounds of the hall. At the Richmond meeting, for instance, R. C. Van Fleet gathered a street audience of about four thousand listeners, Albert H. Elliot gathered a second great audience in the Italian Theater, in the Italian quarter, at which Mme. Adelina Dosenna, of La Scala, Milan, sang.

So great was the growing interest in the League's public meetings that the directors felt that a final, mass meeting should be held in Dreamland Rink, the largest auditorium in the city. The plan almost terrified the majority of our workers, but those who had watched our audiences build up from a few hundred to several thousand, felt we must risk it. We found that seats could be so arranged as to give the effect of a great mob with no more than 2500 present. With this for comfort, it was decided to make the venture. It was agreed that the mass meeting should be representative of every sort of suffrage organization. All organizations were invited to coöperate, and they being assured that the College League would bear all expense, responded favorably. The League did the preliminary work, such as planning the program, getting the speakers, hiring the hall and advertising. The other organizations assented to the plans as they were submitted.

In order that the feeling of full coöperation might be preserved, the name of the College League was not used in any of the advertisements and the only College League officer who took a prominent official part on the stage was Mrs. Orlow Black, who asked for the collection, with the sanction of the coöperators. Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, the President of the pioneer suffrage association, the California Suffrage Association, presided with great dignity and introduced the chairman of the evening.

On the platform were the vice-presidents of all the suffrage associations of the city, and ushers were also sent from them. Although the meeting was as completely a College League enterprise as any

we had undertaken—and our most ambitious enterprise—no one would have guessed it from the arrangements. The meeting cost more than any other that we held, the items amounting to a few cents less than three hundred dollars.

On the program were Catherine Waugh McCullough, vice-president of the American Woman's Suffrage Association, John I. Nolan, the Union Labor leader, Rabbi Martin Meyer, Miss Helen Todd, Factory Inspector for Illinois; Rev. Charles F. Aked, Miss Gail Laughlin of Colorado, and J. Stitt Wilson, the most prominent Socialist of the State.

Seven thousand notices of the meeting were mailed by the League to voters in the central section of the city, and ten thousand more were given out at doorways and at automobile street meetings. Window cards were scattered through the town, and three wagon transparencies, their horses' harnesses a-jingle with bells, were sent through the city on October 4th and 5th. For three hours, on the afternoon of October 5th, Von Der Meyden's band, in a tallyho decked with banners, announced the mass meeting, by playing up and down the shopping streets, and out in the Mission.

By the afternoon of the day of the mass meeting, the chairman of automobile street speaking had planned for motors to be in front of the hall, as success was in the air. All idea of making only an appearance of a great crowd was abandoned, and the manager of Dreamland Rink, Charles Goldberg, an enthusiastic suffragist, was getting out on the floor every available seat he had or could borrow. At seven the band began to play in front of the hall, and before eight the police forced us to close the doors, saying we had inside the largest crowd in the history of the rink, estimating it at a round 6000. When the meeting opened, 4000 persons, in an overflow crowd, blocked Steiner street for a square in front of the hall. To these eager ones we sent out, in turn, every speaker who addressed the throng within, Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley having put them in a mood to hear more by her lively arguments.

Within the hall, the chairman held the speakers to the time which the public meetings committee had allotted to each one, and each speaker pounded into the given time fire, and force and eloquence that brought forth shouts of approval. The audience was not, by any means, made up of suffragists only, and the packed throng and passionately enthusiastic applause startled many into their first suspicion of what was to happen on October 10th.

The open-minded attitude of our auditors made us wish for more chances to reach them, in these few, last days, and when on Sunday night, October 8th, it was suggested that we ought to hold a business men's noon meeting in a down-town hall, the fact that it would have to take place within sixteen hours, seemed no obstacle to its being a success.

When we approached the manager of the Cort Theater he reduced the rent for us to $115.00, but at the same time advised, "You are taking an awful risk to try to get an audience of any size in so short a time. No professional man would attempt it. You would seem to be going to lose on your investment."

We laughed and went to work. The newspapers gave us front-page notices on Monday of a "Business Men's Equal Suffrage Meeting." By six o'clock Monday morning, dodgers, announcing the speakers, were being printed; by eight they were being distributed, six thousand of them, to business men as they went into office buildings, while with permission of the store managers, boys went through the shops giving them out to clerks; by eight-thirty two wagons with transparencies were jingling up and down through the wholesale and retail sections of the city announcing the meeting, "From 12 to 1:30"; at 11:30 a crowd was in front of the theater and at 11:45 we were obliged to begin our meeting. Albert H. Elliot, who presided, confided to the chairman of public meetings that this hastily planned meeting had given him his first fright of the campaign, that he had lost law practice hanging out of his window to see if any one would attend.

Dr. Aked, who had been steadily enthusiastic, had felt so worn after his Sunday work that he tried to decline to speak, but then rallying with his uncurbable ardor had cried over the 'phone, "O, I'll have to come! I may as well be killed for a sheep as a lamb!"

For two hours and a half our speakers held forth, the audience changing like a continuous performance audience, each half or three-quarters of an hour. Albert H. Elliot, R. C. Van Fleet, A. L. Sapiro, Helen Todd, F. G. Athearn, of the Southern Pacific; Dr. Aked and Stitt Wilson awoke responses from this audience, made up practically of business men, which thrilled those who waited the next day's verdict. All through the crowd as men left, because of business necessity, they called back, "I won't vote against you, anyway. I'll leave a blank." This eleventh-hour concession from these men won our gratitude for their negative help. The anti-suffrage vote in San Francisco was distinctly lowered by this meeting, at which we reached hundreds of men who had been adverse to us. No collection was asked, our work was almost done. Nothing was to disturb the spell of the ever-increasing weight of argument that the speakers were throwing into the scale on this our last and our great chance to plead with the voters before election.

No, not our last chance, for while the meeting was at its height Mrs. Black stepped forward to announce that at a great open-air meeting at Union Square that evening Madam Lillian Nordica would lift her voice to plead through her music for "Votes for Women."

A few moments later our transparency men were rushing their horses to the stable to change their signs and go out to publish the Nordica meeting. *Constance Lawrence Dean,* Chairman.

REPORT OF THE LITERATURE COMMITTEE.

Approximately 900,000 leaflets have been printed at a cost of about $800.00. Postage for sending this literature to teachers and clubs was $175.00. The following is a list of the leaflets printed:

"Why the Teacher Should Be a Suffragist," by Fannie W. McLean. Single leaflet, two pages.

"What Men Say About the Vote and What Women Say About the Vote." Single leaflet, two pages.

"Measuring Up Results in Colorado," by Judge Benjamin Lindsey and George Creel. Single leaflet, two pages.

Extracts from "Objections Answered," by Alice Stone Blackwell. Double leaflet, four pages.

"Jane Addams Wants to Vote," extracts from article by Jane Addams, in *The Ladies' Home Journal.* Single leaflet, two pages.

Announcement of Officers of the College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California, with Statement of the Aim of the League and Arguments for Equal Suffrage. Double leaflet, four pages.

"Good Citizenship, a True Democracy." Single leaflet, two pages.

Same in French, German, Italian and Portuguese.

"Woman in the Home." Single leaflet, two pages.

Same in German. Single leaflet, two pages.

"To the Farmers and Fruit Growers," by Milicent Shinn. Single leaflet, two pages.

"Do you Know?" by Carrie Chapman Catt. Single leaflet, two pages.

"Some Reasons Why We Believe in Woman Suffrage." Single leaflet, two pages.

"For Election Day. A Letter of Advice." Double leaflet, four pages.

"Vote for the 4th Amendment," two pages.

"Pourquoi les Femmes Doivent Voter." Double leaflet, four pages.

It is but fair to state that the above report must be given in round numbers because the various orders for printing, not having been issued by the same committee throughout the campaign, must, in regard to a few orders, be roughly estimated. Among these uncertain quantities are some "rush orders" sent in during the two weeks preceding the election straight from headquarters, instead of through the committee, and some other literature that was brought, from time to time, from other Suffrage organizations. The Treasurer's Report shows a total of $1057.61 spent for literature printed and bought.

This report will serve to show very nearly the amount and character of the suffrage literature distributed to the people of the State.

One item—that for postage—shows the expense of mailing these

leaflets only until the middle of June, the time when the Literature Committee's work in sending circulars to the teachers of the State was finished. After this date the work of distribution was done, in the main, by other committees, in country and city circularizing clubs, and by hand at public meetings.

The first chairman of the College Equal Suffrage League's Literature Committee, Miss Kate Ames, visited various printing houses in San Francisco and succeeded in making most excellent terms, namely, a rate of $109.00 for 160,000 single leaflets (printed on both sides), or an equivalent number of double leaflets, when printed in lots of eight. There is very great economy in printing in large quantities, but the plan presents difficulties at the close of a campaign, since urgently needed material is often held back from the printer's to fill out the eight lots. At such a time, the economy should not be considered and single lots should be printed, when the demand comes.

To avoid delay in waiting to make up the eight lots called for by the printer's contract, several clubs combined in supplying the material for eight sets of leaflets, but this device has disadvantages. After one trial we found it inadvisable to join with other clubs in printing these large orders, as it gave rise to confusion to the printer and consequent delays.

A very important ruling was made by the board of directors of the League early in the work. It was decided that no literature should be printed that had not first been submitted to that board or to the executive committee. The necessity for such a ruling is obvious. The organization must be responsible for all publications sent out under its name and the greatest care should be exercised in the selection of suitable material. When we remember that the literature reaches people of widely differing interests, it is evident that discrimination must be used in eliminating any material that might alienate any large groups of voters. The Committee on Literature gladly submitted all manuscript to the directors before publication, that they might share this serious responsibility.

The first work of the Literature Committee was educational. A leaflet called, "Why the Teacher Should be a Suffragist," by Fannie W. McLean, was sent as the principal leaflet to teachers throughout the entire State. Not only to teachers but, also, to members of School Boards, remembering even the janitor, since he possessed the coveted vote. The California members of the National Educational Association were also circularized.

We found local literature far more effective when it bore the name of a person well known throughout the State in his or her special line, not only because of its appeal to local pride, but because such a writer really understands the interests of his own community better than a writer from another State.

A useful leaflet of this sort, addressed to the "Farmers and Fruit

Growers," was prepared by Milicent Shinn, for distribution in country districts.

Serious literature, given over to logical arguments for equal suffrage, was used to advantage in the early part of the campaign, when we were most interested in creating a public opinion favorable to equal suffrage and when we were endeavoring to show that the movement was the logical outcome of the educational enfranchisement of women. Later in the campaign when we were working among the mass of more or less unintelligent voters, we found that single leaflets printed in large type, and presenting a few arguments in a striking manner, were more successful.

Before printing and distributing leaflets we carefully studied the character of the group which this literature would reach. Since California has a large foreign population, we had leaflets printed in French, German, Italian and Portuguese. There was no Spanish literature issued by this committee, because the Spanish voters are found largely in the southern part of the State and their needs were met by publications in their language, printed by active organizations in Los Angeles.

A very valuable leaflet was "Extracts from the Speech of Father Gleason," which was a strong plea to the Catholic voter. We also found that "Woman in the Home," translated into German, was effective in overcoming the prejudices of the German-American.

Only one leaflet was published by us in reply to the literature that was distributed by the anti-suffragists. This was a two-page leaflet called "Vote for the 4th Amendment," issued during the last week of the campaign. Such replies were considered unnecessary as most of the material used by our opponents furnished, in itself, arguments for our cause. *Kate Brousseau,* Chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON DESIGN.

One of the first needs that comes with the establishment of headquarters is for letter-heads, post-cards, posters and stickers that shall carry a suggestive suffrage design. English "Votes for Women" cards and those in use in the Eastern States are often not suited, by their militancy, to the spirit of a Western campaign. It is well to make a collection of all such material, however, as they are at least negatively, and in some cases, positively, helpful in making new cards.

Our California Committee on Design came to believe that a multiplicity of designs was an error of waste, not only because of the extra cost of reproducing new drawings and making new cuts, but because the scattering of attention was a mistake. The psychology of advertising teaches us to repeat, with slight variations, a familiar design until the public eye is caught by the manifold repetitions of the same arresting idea.

In selecting even these simple little symbols one must get back to the spirit of the people toward a campaign. In California the general attitude of the public toward woman suffrage was not inimical, it was amused, indifferent, and incredulous. This being the case it seemed to us especially unwise for us to institute a quarrelsome campaign. It seemed best for us to put forth positive arguments of a hopeful, constructive sort rather than arguments that ended in criticism or irony. We saw that here our chief need was to place the subject before the people, again and again, in a way that must hold their attention and convince the voters that the women of California were seriously, if good-temperedly, determined to have a just share in the affairs of the State. We selected as a design for our engraved notepaper a small medallion showing a sun of gold-color rising over the sea, beneath it the words in violet engraved on a band of gold-color, "The New Day"; above, on the same band, the words "Votes for Women." Although the enameling in two colors made this expensive to reproduce we sold much of this paper with matching envelopes at a slight profit, and also many correspondence cards, engraved in the same way. I believe we should have had the design reproduced, by a cheap printing process, to use on all of our office stationery to gain the very real advantage of repetition. To be as clever an advertiser as the automobile man one must link old and new ventures together, to gain an accumulative effect of persistency and purpose.

All advertising requires money. We know that it was much easier to raise a sum of money for a clearly specified object than for the general "cause." In May one of the members of this committee explained to the Board of Directors the need for the gift of a prize

for a poster to be used for advertising our various enterprises. Immediately fifty dollars was offered for this prize and the committee set to work to draft a set of terms for the competitors.

As in all public competitions it was important to give all the information necessary for the contestants in the original terms of contest, to avoid a maze of time-consuming correspondence, and to do equal justice to all competitors. It was necessary to go into the methods of color reproduction, with the principal firms who do that work, to find how many colors it would be practicable to use, the size of paper for economical cutting and other technical points, as these details must condition the terms of a contest.

The object of a poster contest, as well as of the finished poster, is advertisement, all the way through. To make newspaper matter of the contest is not difficult. First comes the story of the offering of the prize and the terms of the contest, a story about the prize-giver if that is allowed by the donor. In order to gain newspaper space the element of news must always be present, of course. A short time after all the papers had printed our first notice, we announced the name of the well-known artist who "had consented to act as a judge" in awarding the prize, then the name of the art-store that had generously accorded a room in which the judges were to meet to pass on the competing posters; later came the story of the number of posters received and an announcement of the date of the prize poster exhibit; finally the name of the prize winner, her picture and the reproduction of the successful poster, all of which kept our active work for suffrage before the attention of a public too ready to repeat, "the women do not want the ballot."

As soon as the terms of the contest were decided upon multigraphed copies were sent to all the art schools and private studios whose addresses we could secure. In our contest we were, unfortunately, not able to draw upon the most experienced draftsmen in the city, as the amount of the prize did not tempt them to compete. One hundred dollars is said to be about the sum asked by the professional poster makers, but we got some very good student work and a few professional designs. One difficulty that we might have prevented, by foresight, was the lack of vital ideas in many of the designs submitted to us, a majority of the designs showed a cold symbolism, without spirit or interest. This, I believe, would have been prevented, in large measure, had we shown a group of spirited, modern, English Suffrage posters at our headquarters, not for imitation but to suggest more original conceptions than the figure of Justice with her scales, which appeared in more than half of the competing designs.

In selecting a committee on award we included most of the directors of the League, as well as several artists, that the award might be made with the idea of propaganda values in mind, as well as mere artistic excellence, and also to have a group of people who would un-

derstand and defend a selection that was the best that conditions allowed the judges to make.

Fearing that the Poster Show might fail of sufficient public interest to justify the generous permission given us to exhibit in their rooms by the foremost book-and-art-shop in town, we decided to combine with the poster display an exhibition of handcraft work, made by women and men who actively believed in equal suffrage. This was an opportunity to put before the public, in a way that was unescapable, the quality and competence of those who asked for this right. About six thousand dollars' worth of hand-work was collected in a few days for this loan exhibition, from the shops and studios of the city. No work was shown that was not good of its sort. Workers in wood, leather, copper, jewels and precious metals were represented, as well as art photographers, painters and sculptors. One case of about fifty autographed books represented what some of the local and Eastern writers thought about "Votes for Women."

In spite of all the pressure we could put upon the color engravers we did not get our thousand completed posters until six weeks after the prize poster was in their hands, but we got it in time for the chief use we wished to make of it. That was for the mid-August window-display that had been arranged for with several hundred of the prominent merchants of the city. Throughout the city shop windows were decorated with yellow and the poster explained the reason for the color, with its subdued brilliancy and its motto. The manager of the largest jeweler's establishment in San Francisco said: "It is fifteen years since a card of any sort has been shown in our windows, but we will display this." After the week of the window display was over most of the posters that had been used were returned to our headquarters and enough were sold of them, at fifty cents each, to more than pay for the cost of their reproduction; several hundred others were given away for advertising purposes to be hung in public places, to insist once more that women did want the vote.

A miniature copy of the poster was made for "stickers," in three colors, and about fifteen thousand of these were sold and distributed through the mail on letters and papers. They, also, more than paid for the expense of making. It is important, I think, that these advertising devices should pay for themselves, but since their real end is spreading the message they carry abroad, as generally as possible, they should be sold as cheaply as is compatible with that end. The stickers were sold for one cent each.

We also had post-cards, in black and white, copied from the poster in two qualities. About fifteen thousand were sold in the one-cent sort, and about six hundred in the more expensive (two-for-five-cent) variety.

Before the poster was available we had to meet an immediate need for office paper, blotters, and post-cards; these could not wait upon

the slow processes of color reproduction. This brought us to the question of choosing our colors. Some of the directors of the League shrank from the violent and pestilential associations called up by the color yellow. "And yet," it was argued by others, "yellow is the color that has the history of this movement behind it. Before the end of an active campaign the active workers must be ready to stand more distasteful implications than a vague suggestion of smallpox flags and yellow journalism." In looking back I believe we would have gained nothing by choosing a new and prettier color or by shrinking behind the neutrality of white. What England has carried to the doors of Parliament, and Washington to victory, we decided that the women of California had the courage to uphold.

In a mild, chamois-skin yellow we got out blotters, stamped with a very simple design showing five stars named for the five "free States" and with the words, "California Next" printed below. The same design we had put on some violently yellow paper (this had to be sold, at cost, to a very courageous suffragist, as nobody else liked it).

A group of foreign post-cards carrying a direct argument in two languages and another, implicit, argument were gotten out early in the campaign. From the wholesale makers of colored post-cards we selected three sorts of cards: one of a Spanish-California scene, one Italian and one Chinese. On these we had printed in the native language, and in translation, a request from the American women of California that the foreign voter would vote for the bill that would enable us to enjoy the same advantages of citizenship as that enjoyed by the native-born Chinese, the Italian or the Spanish voter. The irony that was suggested by the plea of women, Americans by five generations, many of them, to foreigners, for an equal share in the control of an American State, had its own effect. All of these cards were bought up as curiosities by suffragists, and few, I fancy, reached the foreigners to whom they were addressed.

The original duties of a Committee on Design were supposed to have to do with printed designs, but it branched out and took in adjacent fields of enterprise. Decorations for halls and theaters for public meetings, designs for badges and banners, decorations for temporary headquarters, part of the work on the Labor Day float—by which the Woman's Amendment found a place beside the other Labor Amendments in the Labor Day parade—and the pleasant task of making the automobile from which Madame Nordica spoke and sang for woman suffrage, on Union Square, worthy of her, were among the interesting pieces of work done by the committee, in its distended capacity.

One of the queerest of the odd jobs that fell to the committee was to design and interject suffrage "features" into a reluctant vaudeville show, at the Valencia Theater. A company called "The Australian Boys" was giving a show and some one suggested that they afforded one more chance for us to use a public performance to put woman

suffrage before the general public, because these boys came from a country which had for years prospered under the reform for which we worked. A contract was made with the manager of the company that if we would take seventy-five dollars' worth of tickets to one performance we might put as much suffrage as we could get into their program for that evening. We decorated the stage with great yellow banners saying, "Our Mothers Vote, Why Don't Yours?" We interviewed the little sons of the women who vote, to find that, to a boy, they were proud of their mothers' having an equal share with their fathers' in affairs. One näif little chap said, "Yes, our mothers vote, and our fathers too," and they questioned us curiously about our condition of disenfranchisement. All this made good advance stuff, with plenty of pictures of the boys. We made the stage gay with flowers and flags, the boys carried saucy little "Votes for Women" flags in one of their choruses, we inserted suffrage song-and-dance numbers into the sober British vaudeville. In one scene fourteen of the boys came on in a chorus each wearing a huge, yellow letter on his chest; at the end of the song the boys fell into order and the words, "Votes for Women" suddenly sprang out of the alphabetical chaos.

When the Australian manager was finishing his ten-minute talk on how woman suffrage had worked in Australia, scores of yellow balloons, like big salmon-eggs, floated down from the balconies upon the audience, bearing suffrage leaflets, as tails to their kites. The Australian program was too long, and to get in our acts the suffrage troupe had to dart on and off the stage, like marauders. There were moments that seemed to threaten international complications, but, happily, we all believed in artists, as well as woman's, rights.

In an active campaign every committee finds itself exceeding the limits of its original activities but I believe no committee is led into more interesting or droller by-ways than a committee on design.

Louise Herrick Wall, Chairman.

REPORT ON CITY CIRCULARIZING.

Early in the campaign for equal suffrage in California, when the work seemed so great and the workers so few, the counsel of the young Progressive Party, which had just learned "how" in the State, was sought. The immense importance of reaching the individual voter was urged upon us.

The distribution of this work, in a house to house campaign, is ideal, but many factors—the necessity of doing the visiting at night, when the men of the house were at home; the natural hesitancy of a woman in invading the households of strangers; and, above all, the vast number of workers required for such individual campaigning—made the attempt, for us, impossible. The next most intimate method of appeal to the individual voter was by circularization.

This our committee decided to attempt, but we were hampered by lack of funds in covering the whole registered vote. After finding which districts were being covered by other methods, we selected two of the outlying districts, one of working people and one of mixed residents. Later, we had the money given us, by the Susan B. Anthony Club, to circularize a district recommended by them, also one of extremes and containing many Italian voters.

The initial work consisted of correcting the precinct books of these districts, to date. This took us to the registrar's office and made us acquainted with the technique of registration. The precinct books and envelops—bearing the stamp of the College Equal Suffrage League—were then distributed. The envelopes when addressed were to be sent to one place. This work enabled us to give the opportunity of active work for equal suffrage to scores of women, many of whom were contributing in no other way.

When the envelopes were all returned, the "filling bees" began. The leaflets, two pieces for each envelope, were folded, selection being made, as far as possible, to prevent sending duplicates to one house. One general and one special circular was included in each envelope. We had excellent local Roman Catholic literature, and were careful to have it reach people to whom it would appeal particularly.

This work of folding, filling and stamping, took about six afternoons, and called together eight or ten women each time. They came at two o'clock, took tea at four, and worked again until six. They were good propagandists from that day.

These leaflets were mailed on July 26th, just as the public schools opened, with the idea that the circle of those discussing the extension of suffrage to women would be increased, and the subject become of interest before the more vivid campaign began.

There is no absolute way to ascertain what good is done by circularizing. But how else, save through the press, can each voter's eye be reached?

An indirect good to the worker herself comes out of all work done. About one hundred women worked on this circularizing who had, up to that time, done nothing for the campaign, and many of them continued to be good workers, in other departments, until the end, as a consequence of interest so awakened.

A complete circularization would, of course, be the logical method, and when done under well-organized volunteer workers it costs only one-fifth what a political party pays for the same job.

Circularizing is an individual appeal, takes less time, less money and fewer workers than house to house precinct work, but, just in so far as it is less personal than that method, it is less powerful in winning votes.

We distributed thirty-four thousand pieces of literature, to seventeen thousand voters, at a total cost of $232.80. The Susan B. Anthony Club gave $61.80 toward this amount.

Adelaide Brown, Chairman.

PUBLICITY REPORT FOR SAN FRANCISCO.

For the final, swift newspaper campaign in San Francisco no such qualities of devotion or intrepidity were needed as those shown by Mrs. Frank Deering through the years when, week after week, she hammered out a peg to hang news upon that the country newspapers would publish. Any trained newspaper woman could have conducted this San Francisco wind-up.

We devised a system by which typewritten copy, suitable for publication, was furnished to each paper three times a week. This general news of the campaign was written in short, crisp paragraphs, and we unquestionably got a great deal of extra space in the papers by sending in copy that could be used as "fillers." In addition to this a great many "feature stories" were worked up every week and usually each reporter was given at least one exclusive story accompanied by pictures. Impartiality was rigidly observed in the manner of giving out these "scoop" stories, by either a turn-about rule, or on a first come first choice basis. During our short campaign the San Francisco newspapers covered the suffrage detail regularly and we owe much to the intelligence and sympathetic attitude of the reporters detailed for this work.

A press report of this sort may be summed up in a few words: Put someone who knows the business on the job! Otherwise all the desirable news that gets into the papers will not counteract what should have been kept out!

Anyone with a trained sense of news value will make news when copy is short. For example, notes were written to all the distinguished artists passing through San Francisco asking them to contribute some pro-suffrage sentiment for newspaper publication. Gertrude Elliot, E. H. Sothern, and a number of others who could not endorse it from the platform made a point of telling the dramatic critics that they earnestly advocated giving women the right to vote. Such endorsements appearing in the dramatic column rather than in the suffrage column had a distinct and obvious value by attracting the attention of readers who might shun the suffrage news. Mrs. Fisk wrote to us that she had not thoroughly looked into the subject but believed that it must be just and right as most of the finest women that she knew believed in it, and at her invitation the President of the College League and a half dozen of the members occupied a box at one of the performances and had a very interesting suffrage talk between acts in Mrs. Fisk's dressing room. Incidents of this sort make good newspaper copy that is not grudgingly printed.

Any experienced person appreciates that editors of big news-

papers are not going to have a hectic flush of enthusiasm over the fact that Mrs. Smith gave a suffrage tea; the experienced person is not going to berate the reporter because the revolution in China is in scare head type on the front page and that suffrage news is lost in the middle shuffle; but when a suffrage story has a real news value she is going to make the most of it. Very often there was multiplicity of material and each committee very humanly considered its work the most important, but it could be usually figured out just about how much space we would be likely to get in the papers. For example, late one afternoon we learned that there had been a reorganization of the Panama-Pacific Fair board and a shipwreck up the Coast. It did not require clairvoyant sense to predict that we would get scant space in the morning papers. We had two stories to give out: the suffragists had decided to sell postal cards on the street on a certain day, we were also going to give a number of meetings in halls in different parts of the city the next night and they had been inadequately advertised. If the two stories had been turned in, the post-card story, with attractive photographs, would have been run, as it had fresher interest than public meetings with pictures of the speakers, so only the story of the meetings was given out. When news was considered entirely from our standpoint we strove to furnish interesting pictures and in every way to make the editors and reporters believe that a breathless, panting public was eagerly waiting for just that story!

The last night of the six months' suffrage campaign illustrates the way we had all learned to seize the moment. That morning at 10 o'clock, Miss Bessie Beattie, a special writer on the Bulletin, called at my home and said: "Last night, after the theater, I learned that Madame Nordica is in town and that she is an ardent suffragist."

We had all been wondering just how we could finish the campaign with a great flourish and furnish good newspaper copy for the last morning. There was a question about the wisdom of speaking from automobiles on the last night. We feared that some undisciplined enthusiast might at the last moment make a statement that like "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" would turn the tide against us—and we had about decided not to have any public demonstration.

But the combination of a great singer and suffragist fired the imagination. In the exhilaration of the last day of the campaign it did not seem extravagant or fantastic to picture Madame Nordica making a suffrage speech and singing a patriotic air from an automobile in Union Square park.

We had to run the cordon surrounding a great singer. We talked shop first to the press agent and he passed us up to the manager, who in turn had to be convinced, and it was nearly noon when Madame Nordica's secretary ushered us into the presence.

Madame Nordica would do anything for the Great Cause, she explained, with the unmistakable ardor of a genuine suffragist, but alas! her contract with the managers! Suppose the night should be cold and she should contract a sore throat? Suppose the night should be warm and she should take cold afterwards? Then, pouf! What matter? She would do it! It was a glorious opportunity to be in on the making of a free State, and the night, and the temperature, and managers, and contracts, and colds, all went a glimmering before an overwhelming desire to help in the suffrage campaign.

We fled on the heels of a glorious, generous promise that Madame Nordica would speak from an automobile in Union Square park that night.

There was just half an hour in which to get the news into the late edition of the three afternoon papers. We cranked up the "Blue Liner" and we managed to get to all three offices before the papers went to press! *Ernestine Black.*

THE WINDOW DISPLAY.

In proportion to the amount of time and money involved, the showing of suffrage colors in the shop windows of the city, from August 21st to 28th, was probably the most striking demonstration of the campaign.

When the day came, shopwindows, from one end of the city to the other, blossomed in every known shade of yellow, and to point the reason for the color, copies of the prize poster, in dull olives and tan, lightened with yellow and flame, gave the campaign cry, "Votes for Women."

The first chairman of the committee, for gaining the consent of shop-managers to dress their windows in woman suffrage colors, was a member of a family long known in the city. She started the list with the signatures of some of the most important firms in San Francisco, and each consent, of course, made the next easier to win. Although permission was not universally granted, enough stores fell into line to splash the town from end to end with the significant color. It was said that a concerted anti-suffrage movement was made to get the merchants to retract their promises and that pressure of patrons was brought to bear from that quarter. If this was the case, it is creditable to the good faith of the merchants of San Francisco that so small a percentage of those who had signed the agreement to dress their windows, failed to keep their word. Many shops outran our brightest expectations. One large furniture store gave two great front windows to a beautiful autumn-color scheme in brown and yellows, and one book shop put up several dozen copies of the prize poster and filled his window-shelf with copies of such books as Olive Schreiner's "Woman and Labor," and Miss Addams' "Newer Ideals of Peace."

The letter of thanks to the merchants, published in all the newspapers, by the College Equal Suffrage League, spoke part of the warm appreciation that the League members felt for the courageous, good faith of the merchants. Through them the city wore the color, that was soon to be the color of success, through one whole week of the summer.

PUBLIC LUNCHEONS.

Another and an effective form of public gatherings were our public luncheons, which drew together the membership and many faintly interested allies, and put them all into good-humored relation with the whole scheme of headquarters' work.

Late in June, when our committees were just well under headway, and full of interest in their separate plans, we took the largest room we could find in an attractive restaurant, one that would seat about three hundred people at luncheon, and arranged a program which was intended to attract a very general sort of audience. At the speakers' table were Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, Miss Geraldine Bonner, Dr. David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University, and the first speaker of the day, Miss Miriam Michelson. She talked on "The Reproach of Unladylike Behavior," and by her fun and irony warmed the audience into rippling good humor. This was followed by a clever talk on "Outworn Traditions," by the best of the younger speakers that the campaign had developed.

The program and the "distinguished guests" had been well advertised by the obliging press, and drew a great many people who were not League members, so that several hundred had to be turned away; being refused, for the first time in their lives, the privilege of being present at an equal suffrage feast and hearing equal suffrage reports.

For the practical feature of the day was the presentation of the active plans of four or five of the more important committees. These were crisp, little three-minute talks by each chairman on the progress and purpose of her work: what it was costing, and just how much more money it would take to complete the project. In addition to these short sketches, which were lively and interesting, the same facts were given out, in condensed form, in multigraphed sheets, to the audience, and later mailed to all members.

The luncheon created a distinct sense, with many people, of the growing prestige of woman suffrage, and new members signed the membership cards left at each plate.

A second luncheon of the same general character was carried out in Berkeley and met the same cordial response from the public. As a popular way to reach half-hearted suffragists, to raise money for specific projects, and to give an air of gayety and humor to the campaign, we found it one of our best devices.

COUNTRY CAMPAIGNING.

On the lapel of my coat a little badge, gold letters on a white ground, saying to all the world that had eyes to see, "Votes for Women"; in one of my bags a goodly assortment of suffrage literature; in my heart a bit or trepidation as to the success of my venture, for I was going campaigning. I was starting out on a trip to arouse the women of certain counties, marked on my itinerary, to the need for concerted action, if we were to carry the constitutional amendment granting the right of suffrage to women.

The plan of organization was suggested by political usage—a central committee in San Francisco, with a subordinate committee in each county. The country newspapers had been supplied for five years with well-selected suffrage arguments and news, but the county suffrage organizations were lamentably weak. In reality there were but eight counties sending delegates to the State convention, out of the fifty-eight comprising the State.

My first stop on the initial trip impressed me greatly. It was a county seat, a thriving, progressive city of about 30,000 people. I found a mere handful of suffragists there, but they were enthusiasts. As a result of their efforts, ten-minute talks before a number of clubs and organizations were arranged. Later when a call was made to form an organization, many of the women that had been reached in this way responded. The club thus formed, led by the few who paved the way in the beginning, did most effective work, during the following five months, and carried the county for suffrage in the election.

This success at the start gave me courage to continue the work, though in no other county were the results so satisfactory. Why? Because in no other place was there a local group willing to take the initiative in getting the organizer started.

At each stopping place I tried to see the representative women—those in whom the civic consciousness was awakening. The Woman's Improvement Club, found in almost every community in California, was a source of strength because of the progressive character of its members. The wonder is, of course, that all the women engaged in such work were not alive to the need for the ballot, as a means of quickly bringing about those conditions for which their organization stood. Another group of women who could always be relied on were the members of the W. C. T. U. They, however, realized the opposition of many people to the ideal for which they stand and their members, as a whole, thought it wiser to work as individuals rather than under the insignia of the White Ribbon. For their breadth of view and generosity of spirit I wish to offer my appreciation.

In starting out as an organizer for suffrage work it is wise to take along with you large chunks of philosophy and a developed sense of humor, else the enterprise will sap energy and enthusiasm. The

work involves a constant round of detail; calling on women who might become interested; seeking opportunity to present the suffrage question in short talks to clubs and lodges, at their own gatherings; visiting newspaper editors, discovering their attitude, and asking support for the measure; and, finally, bringing interested women together and effecting an organization—these are the activities of an organizer and the idea that sustains her is the thought that has been the lode-star to us all: "What matters physical discomfort, hard work, mental strain,—anything —if we can win on the tenth of October?"

Successfully to carry on a suffrage campaign, to form a working group in each county, or smaller district, should be the foremost object. To accomplish this organizers of tact and ability should go through the State. The personality of the women sent on this mission is a large factor in the results obtained. People in the smaller centers are much like their city neighbors. The main difference lies in their closer association, because of limited numbers, and the correspondingly increased chance of friction as a result of contrasting points of view. The organizer makes her appeal to all the women of the community, regardless of social and other affiliations. To harmonize discordant elements, appreciating and yet ignoring individual differences in the various groups, is the task of one who would draw women together into one cohesive body, working for the one common end. Toleration, tact, real sympathy and friendliness—above all, enthusiasm that is wholesome and contagious—are the qualities needed in the successful organizer. She must be a veritable dynamo, generating her own power and giving freely to all who will accept. I learned this after five weeks alone in the country, trying to be a radiant center of suffrage sentiment—then I returned to the city. Here I was again in the midst of active, constructive work, surrounded by workers, filled with an almost holy zeal, giving time and strength and ability, that they might show by act and word the faith that was in them. And it was like a draught of pure water to parched lips, a breath of life. I was rested, I was refreshed. The burden of the campaign dropped from my mind. The joy of it filled my heart. And all because I had come into an environment congenial and invigorating. Then I understood, as I had not before, the plaintive cry of the woman who said, "You must send workers from your central headquarters to us. Give us of your enthusiasms, tell us of your plans, stimulate us by the contagion of your example. You are in the midst of things, in the sweep of the current; we are in the quiet eddies. Come to us, that we may feel the stir of the force that is moving the women of the State."

Organization work is the strong foundation on which the superstructure must be erected. The big public meetings, the automobile speaking, all the spectacular methods of a whirlwind finish are much more effective if a small group, in each locality, has worked up public interest by gradually warming the people to a sentiment of cordiality toward the idea of woman suffrage. *Ida Finney Mackrille,* Chairman.

RURAL CAMPAIGNING.

The Flying Squadron that was sent out from headquarters to the country homes throughout the State, to organize the women and address public meetings, felt itself, perhaps, more than any other group of suffrage workers, in the midst of an irresistible movement. They saw in the work that unfolded under their hands the strength of an idea that gradually amalgamated rich and poor, young and old, crude and cultured, capable and foolish, but earnest—always earnest—women; and to see this was to sense from afar the coming brotherhood of man, the brotherhood and sisterhood.

Our little group of three campaigners "covered" some of the counties near San Francisco. On entering a town to begin operations we were almost invariably greeted by the first suffragist on whom we called with the discouraging prophecy, "Oh, it is too bad, but this town is strongly 'anti.' I don't believe you can do very much here." At first this was a dash of cold water, but it soon became a jest of a chronic nature. One by one the women of the town would enter into genial discussion and finally yield it as their timorous opinion that women had just as much to do with politics—not in its bastard meaning, but as the science of self-government—as had men. With a tiny toss of the head, they would further aver that they thought women could do the voting with an approximation to the efficiency manifested by their male relatives.

Then we would prepare for an organization meeting, followed by a public meeting in the town hall or on the town plaza; and the faint spark of suffragism was a-flame!

It was most heartening to the isolated women of the small towns and country places to find that a group of their comrades from the city had come to them, that these confident visitors did not regard "Votes for Women" as a peg to hang time-worn, sex-depreciating jokes upon; that the conception had a gripping ethical value; and that, for its success, it depended upon the outspoken courage of each and every home-loving, State-loving woman among them. These women of the small places were not yet fatally touched by the decadent germ of our sinister big cities, that germ of gay irresponsibility, these were the women, and their men the voters, who opened the door to political freedom and helped California to enter. *Londa Stebbins Fletcher.*

AUTOMOBILE CAMPAIGNING.

What the suffragist wants, above all things, is a hearing. An audience is her great need, and any legitimate means to attain that end is good campaigning.

When the plan of speaking from automobiles was first suggested in board meetings the conservatives cried out, "It will never do. Such sensational methods will lose us votes."

"But it has been successfully tried in other States," answered the radicals.

A lady of the old regime, suffragist though she was, said with an air of severity, "California men want their women to be dignified and womanly." The inference being, of course, that those desirable qualities would be lost to the woman addressing a crowd on the street corner. Thus, even among those sufficiently advanced to advocate suffrage for women, we found the age-long struggle between the conservatives and the radicals, the followers of the old paths and the heralds of the new.

But we tried automobile speaking, and found it one of the best ways of reaching the voter. The man who was not interested in suffrage, who could not be inveigled into a hall or to an indoor meeting of any kind, would yet stop on the street corner for a while to "hear what the women have to say." The plan was economical of energy, time and money. In the great farming valleys of California, automobiles are ordinary possessions. Through suffrage sympathizers it was easy to get the use of an automobile for almost any evening. The speaking was usually advertised in the local newspapers, by posters in the store windows, and by handbills on the streets.

I shall never forget my first attempt at this kind of speaking. In order to reach as many people as possible, we planned a fifteen-minute talk just before the opening of the regular weekly band concert. I was introduced by a prominent politician. Tremors of nervousness swept over me and I regretted that I had ever agreed to undertake so difficult a task. Then it was time to begin—and all the nervousness left me. Voters were in that crowd, and our political freedom depended on the men of the State. We had a message to deliver, and we had faith in our men, their sense of justice and of fair play.

At the close of the speaking and after the band began playing, four of us went through the crowd distributing the yellow suffrage leaflets. A traveling man standing in front of the hotel said: "Madam, as soon as you stood up in that automobile I said to my companion, 'Woman Suffrage.'" That one comment gave me more courage than anything I had heard, for I knew we were making our cause an

issue. However just a principle may be, however crying the need for social reformation, that for which you stand must be made a vital issue before the people, and that is accomplished only by publicity. If in securing such publicity a few little personal qualms and prejudices are sacrificed, add them to the large number already offered at the altar of conviction and go your way.

The women who tremblingly undertook this form of campaigning came to like it better than any other, because of its directness. You met the voters in larger numbers and there was an informality about it, a spirit of neighborliness and friendliness, that conduced to a good understanding. It was our habit always to ask for questions, and usually we were bombarded with them. Naturally most of the questioners were opposed to us. On a street corner one evening the crowd tried to put us on record concerning Socialism, Trade-Unionism, Single Tax, Separation of Church and State, Divorce and half a dozen other problems. In these conflicting currents of belief the only safe plan is a strict adherence to the one subject, "Votes for Women."

That same evening a tall, earnest young man standing near the machine, said: "If it is true that woman is biologically and psychologically inferior to man, why——" He got no further, for another voice sang out, "Oh, break it up into smaller chunks, it's easier to handle." Every one laughed.

Street crowds are usually most responsive, provided you get their attention at the start, their interest and patience are amazing, and when you fail to get the interest of one in a group, you succeed with another. A young man and his sweetheart were listening one night. After a few minutes he said: "Come along, we've had enough of that." She held back, evidently interested. Again he tried to lead her away, adding in a scoffing tone: "That woman had better go home to her children, instead of talking on the street corners." Instantly she replied, with spirit: "She has to do that. She can't make you men listen any other way."

Her reply covers the whole reason for street speaking: we had to get the attention of the men, and as they would not come to us, we went to them. And it is evident, from the returns, that we reached them.

Ida Finney Mackrille, Chairman.

REPORT OF THE BLUE LINER, CAMPAIGNING CAR.

The Blue Liner was a Susan B. Anthony among automobiles, although only a 1910 model of a seven-seated touring car, for she had, in a former incarnation, burned gas for woman suffrage in the successful campaign in Washington.

In California her active work began about six months before election, in taking a carload of mock debaters to speak on woman suffrage, to a bran-new social center, down the peninsula.

The Blue Liner and her consort-car met in San Francisco, on Van Ness avenue, the line where the fire was stopped in the disaster of 1906—a fitting place to pledge faith in what can be done by works —and the two machine-guns, loaded with explosive amateur talent and the grape-shot of yellow leaflets, set forth to conquer prejudice with laughter.

A mock debate, parody songs and a suffrage monologue made up the program. For the debate we put up a man of straw, as an anti-suffrage advocate. He discoursed, in throaty tones, on the horrors of the woman movement—a movement that would destroy society so completely that all that would be left would be an effigy in some National Museum of History of a Home, done in wax, representing "a father, a mother and rosy, healthy, happy children of some perfectly definite sex."

His talk was as absurd, as illogical, as any genuine anti-suffrage talk of the whole campaign. Sentiment was laid on as thick as treacle, but there was no alienating the sympathy of sentimental old ladies and gentlemen, who wrung his reluctant hand and felicitated him upon his "sane ideas."

This gay expedition taught us that debate, as a means of conversion, is too slow in a swift campaign, for even the most burlesque repetition of a fallacy strengthens the faith of the confirmed believer. From that hour the Blue Liner was dedicated to "straight talk."

Although the car was spoken of in the daily papers, and considered by us as the "campaigning-car," she carried on a side line of business. She was general messenger-boy and magic-carpet for the College League. The troupe which acted in "How the Vote Was Won" was carried to its destination by her. She met speakers from the East at the Ferry, conveyed relays of speakers from hall to hall for public meetings, brought materials to decorate theaters, gathered up loads of flowers and balloons for fiestas and pageants, took speakers to remote factories to speak to the men at the noon hour; carted lumber and bunting for the Labor Day float, got workers out for Election Day at the polls, took food to the watchers at the polls, crossed back and forth from Berkeley to San Francisco several times

a week—her mistress often eight hours at a stretch at the wheel—and then off on one of the all-day, all-night campaigning trips into the country. During the last week she lived in San Francisco and took her gasoline from a strange tank, to lose no hour of service, in errands by day, or as a platform for street-speaking by night. But, after all, she was primarily the campaigning-car.

In July she asked for permission to take the county of Contra Costa as her special field; a lovely county, lying back of Oakland and Berkeley, in rolling grape-lands and wooded canyons, which had, in 1896, given a large majority against the woman suffrage amendment. In reply we were told that its chief town, Richmond, was already possessed by a vigorous body of suffragists, but that we might, by courtesy of those already in the field, go to all the other places and do what we could to change the vote of 1896.

The Blue Liner thereupon tucked two yellow pennants into her wind-shield and lashed on behind an apron of yellow oilcloth bearing the words in sign painter's script:

"Votes for Women
Blue Liner Campaigning Committee
College Equal Suffrage League, of San Francisco."

There is a loose-leaf filing-book beside me as I write, a foot square and very fat. On the front page is pasted a road map of Contra Costa, trailed over and over with pencil marks, showing routes. Inside are filed some ten dozens of letters of diplomatic correspondence, written, week by week, in the continuous effort to open wide the gates of about twenty little towns of Contra Costa to the entry of the Blue Liner.

First we would find the name of some local suffragist, one of the local Press Chairmen, created by the League for local newspaper work, by preference, and if there was no such woman, to any progressive Town Improvement Club woman. To her we wrote of our willingness to come and organize a suffrage club, to return later and give an entertainment, with some short arguments interspersed, and still later to send to them well-known speakers from San Francisco. It sounds simple, and given the right local connection it is perfectly simple, but a glance at my filing-book shows one town, of quite 400 voters, that after six letters of diplomacy and one visit of plenipotentiaries, invested with full power to act, still firmly closed its gates against the Blue Liner. But she went there anyhow.

Ten days before election day, that sealed town was flooded with yellow handbills, saying that at 9:15 the following evening the Blue Liner would arrive and give a street meeting and suffrage songs and talks on a prominent street corner. At the appointed hour several hundred men and a few women were on the corner and gave a cordial hearing. The gates of the sealed town creaked, on their rusty hinges turning.

Generally the little town did not have to be assaulted while the conservative slept. Some earnest woman, almost alone, perhaps, in a twenty-year fight for an ideal that Miss Anthony or Dr. Shaw had lighted in her heart, heard younger, gayer voices hailing her, and ran to open the gates.

A first meeting was usually a little gathering in an inn parlor or in some one's shop, of two or three believers and fifteen or twenty women of uncertain faith. We talked to them quietly and intimately, reminding them of the women-ranchers and fruit-growers in their own neighborhood, doing the work of men and yet lacking a man's power to express his will about the conditions under which she, too, must work to earn the same hard living. We told them of what Jane Addams had said of the city problems, and gave them messages from our own social workers in San Francisco. We asked them if the sort of patriotism that Patrick Henry expressed was really a matter of sex, and if they did not hear the great modern call for citizens? Just the old arguments. It was a simple matter, this first meeting. No eloquence was needed, except sincerity; no dream-castles of future achievement, just human documents already signed by great-hearted citizens everywhere. In a meeting of twenty women we could almost count upon twenty signatures for a new league, and the little group became at once the center of vital work, ready to accept our plans for practical propaganda.

I see the look of kindling that came into some of the old faces as we talked to them of the worth of women. Not only of the worth of her body, in bearing the child; nor of her hands, for all they gave of patient service; not of humility and subordination, but of her experience, her conscience, her wisdom to shape, with man, a better world for us all to live in. "You, also, are real," we cried. "What you think counts, but it must count for more," and then would come on her face that look of half-incredulous hope.

But some of the very old women, or life-consumed women, had waited too long. It was impossible to rekindle the ash. One very feeble creature, bent on a staff, whispered to me brokenly: "If Susan B. Anthony could bear to die before this came, I suppose I can too."

But this was a rare attitude. Most of the country women were ready to begin active work.

About a week from our first meeting we usually came back to a little town hall or church building and gave to a few score people, talks and suffrage songs, recitations and argument.

We were introduced by some man of local reputation, the mayor, or editor, or some judge, or doctor, who believed in citizenship for women. Between the lighter numbers of the program, we never failed to have at least twenty minutes of grave argument, from the best speaker we could bring to them from San Francisco. One woman of

the group spoke on "Objections Answered," and in an informal way got the audience to express its own objections.

A verse in the "Reuben and Rachel" dance-song always won a jet of sharp, half-involuntary laughter from the village women, who felt the bitter jest of it; it was where Reuben is explaining to Rachel her place in the scheme of things:

"Rachel, Rachel, I believe, dear,
Woman's proper sphere's the home,
From the cook-stove and the wash-tub,
She should never wish to roam."

One little club, which had had only four active members on our first visit, got up a country dance to which more than three hundred people came and listened, without open impatience, to our program before their dance began. Of course, that was not Blue Liner work, it was the local people who carried it through, but the Blue Liner was in at the start; yes, and almost in at the finish, for we went back for their grape carnival, on the 6th of October, four days before election, and there at the pretty, local headquarters opened by the new suffrage league on the main street of the village, we directed songs, eloquence and persuasion—into the void. The happy folk were too busy carnivaling to have heart for preachments, but when the time came to vote they voted "all right," as they would have said, with eight votes to spare.

From the headquarters we faced out upon a street charmingly bulwarked by great columns of baled alfalfa hay, wound with hopvines. Here the queen of the carnival rode in ermine with a little yellow flag in her hand, and the best girl rider of the county rode a-tilt at rings, with a suffrage flag thrust in her blouse. That is the sort of eloquence that counts, in carnival time.

On the road to our trysts we put up less perishable arguments than words of breath. These were our "snipe" posters, simple arguments in a single sentence, printed on narrow strips of tough manila paper, strong enough to stand through months of our dry season, when securely tacked upon the barns and fences. Each new club had its tacking committee, usually formed by an attractive young school teacher, of several boys and girls. We gave her a hammer with a knot of suffrage ribbon, by way of emblem of office. We expressed to her a big wad of "snipes," and she selected her committee. They affixed the posters to barns and fences about their towns bearing various persuasive sentences.

From the emptiness of their long drives to town the farmers, whether they would or no, had to read the posters. When, by moonlight, the young farmer's horse shied, so that the lad had to remove an affectionate arm to steady him, it was probably because:

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN SAID:
WOMEN SHOULD VOTE.
WHAT DO YOU SAY?"

One day at our San Francisco headquarters I was dragging out snipes—horrid things to handle, rubbed off on your gloves—when a fellow-worker standing by exclaimed:

"What are those for?"

"For Contra Costa," I said shortly, they were curling up.

"For Contra Costa!" she shrieked; "why that county is plastered with them from one end to the other, like an old man with lumbago."

Unhappily it was not so. We did not get half enough of them on.

The Central Campaigning Committee, a glorious-sounding body but when examined composed of human women and mothers, like our humbler organizations, asked us now and again to withdraw our energies from our own affairs and to go and take larger and remoter towns. Vallejo, we were told, had 11,000 inhabitants, and needed conversion. Diplomatic treaties with local suffragists ended pleasantly in our going to a good, sedate hall-meeting of several hundred souls and some voters. It was a meeting well-arranged, patient and decorous, but as we filed out behind the crowd it was only too plain to all of us that we hadn't taken Vallejo, we hadn't even touched the fringe of the voters' garments. Our audience had been much too representative. What one wants in campaigning, as in plain war, are men, not leading citizens.

Out on the bright main street, in front of the cigar stores and being swallowed by the wide mouths of the nickelodeons, were men, young, freshly shaven ones in uniform from the Navy Yard at Mare Island, keen-eyed mechanics, all sorts of them, laughing, moving about, so many of them, with scarcely a drop of allaying femininity among them. They sauntered, half-smiling, ready to be amused, a real late Saturday evening crowd. And each voter carried something that we needed, and that we must have.

The Blue Liner breathed hard to steady her pace to the crowd's. She edged to the curb and we looked at each other. The hour had come for our first street-meeting.

"This is a good place," some one said.

The driver set the brake and we stopped directly in front of a very brightly lighted cigar-store. The idlers on the pavement drew back a half-step from the curb, we could look into their eyes. Then, as we made no move to alight they saw something was going to happen. The men settled more easily on their hips, others drew in behind, packing slightly, on the narrow sidewalk.

"Sing," said a scarcely audible voice in the car; "now!"

("Could anyone have courage for it?" I asked myself.)

Up from the front seat rose the girl of the Blue Liner and up rose her fragile soprano.

"There is no lady in the land
Is half so sweet as Sally;
She is the darling of my heart,
And she lives in our alley."

The delicate enunciation, the virginal, un-worn quality of the voice that ran unfaltering through two verses held us all very still. A stranger thing never happened on the streets of Vallejo. The men pressed in closer. At the last clear drop of music a little sigh splashed from the crowd.

"We come here to ask of you a piece of simple justice," boomed the voice of the man of the Blue Liner; "the women have come to ask it for themselves." Then one of us rose up and spoke.

("Will they stone us?" I asked myself; "will they hoot or will they only laugh?")

I wish I could tell you what they did. It seems such a dream that I half doubt it. They crowded in closer, they lifted their faces up to us, listening, with the look on theirs that a child turns to its mother, of confidence and the will to believe. On the lips of a street lad the cigarette died out and hung, and on every face the smile faded. One should speak as a God to speak on the street, or as one knowing good and evil. It must have been so when words first came to interpret between man and man. Street-speaking is unspeakably difficult, an anguish of misunderstanding beforehand, and an anguish of understanding while it lasts and afterwards a strange, humbling revelation of the simple sincerity of men.

When, at last, each one in turn had spoken, and the Blue Liner drew out, leaving the crowd half-tottering, for it seemed to have built itself up on all sides around the car, we said to each other in hushed voices:

"Isn't it wonderful how they took it? They seemed to understand."

Much debate has raged about the wisdom of street meetings. When, on the 11th of October, we seemed to have lost our cause, we were assured that street meetings had done it. But the indictment was less impressive because, by someone, each method that we had employed was said to have brought about defeat. While we were at work, we were told, in effect, "whatever you do, don't." There was always someone to warn, discomfort and condemn. So, when on the 13th we knew that we had won, we realized that it must have been by what mathematicians call "a compensation of errors."

Out of all this confusion of council about street meetings, one fact emerges. Those who have never heard an unprofessional woman ask for her right to full citizenship, of those who have the right to give it, rarely believe that she should do so, and those who have seen the faces of the men in the street lifted to listen to her appeal, rarely disbelieve in it. The people chiefly concerned seem to understand each other.

The Vallejo street meeting was to be followed by one of a very different sort. We were making a dusty run home and must pass through a little manufacturing town. It was in garish daylight—a fatal time for a street meeting. We had slept little the night before, we were stale and fagged, but this little town was in Contra Costa. It called to

us by every appeal, we had run away to take Vallejo while at home was our own neglected little burg. We all saw it. We must give them a daylight street meeting. An hour or two before reaching the place we telephoned to a friendly town official that we would stop.

As we pulled in, the town seemed deserted. Warning had come in time; the men had fled. Except for the official, there seemed no one living on the long, bare street, except a black dado of seated men against the walls of two contiguous saloons. Their will-power had apparently been sapped before our message came. They sat and took the shock of our impact. One after one we got up and talked to those men. They did not move, they did not resist; possibly none of them understood English. We lashed ourselves against their immovability. Our soubrettes were playful, our soulful artist plead, one of us became eloquent; it did no good. In all our campaigning we never had just such an audience. It was ghastly the way they bore with us.

It was a fixed policy with us to go wherever we were not wanted, so a few days later we returned to this town and gave an entertainment. We were received, a second time, with much the same heroic stoicism by the scattering audience that would not pretend to fill the hall. The strange part of the tale remains to tell. The town gave a better majority for woman suffrage than most of the county towns. There was a gain over the 1896 vote of forty votes.

In campaigning, going where you are not wanted is sound psychology. If the suffragists themselves do not want help during the last weeks of a campaign such as ours, it can only be because they have not reached out and formulated varied plans of work. We knew in San Francisco that we needed every half-way competent worker that we could lay hands upon, for six months before the end of the campaign. We rejoiced passionately in the trained helpers that came to us from the East. There was so much to do. Twenty departments of work ran short of workers, so we knew that when a town had no need of help it was because it had few plans afoot.

Into the pretty town of Santa Rosa we made one of these forced entries. It was during the week of the Native Sons' celebration, and both the Golden Sons and the Golden Daughters assured us, with leaden emphasis, that suffrage was entirely out of place. But we felt that where so many thousands of idle people were gathered was exactly the place for us.

A store building on a lively corner, just across from a Ferris wheel, and next door to the knife-throwing booth, became the headquarters of the Blue Liner. The place was made as pretty as time allowed with flowers and banners and posters, and the doors set very wide upon the street. There was music and singing; and, as we had planned, hundreds of people sauntered in and out, and stopped and chatted or listened. One day we had a seven-hour continuous performance. In the evenings we held big street meetings from the Blue Liner that we kept up until

our constellation waned in the brighter conjunction of the Native Son and the native grape.

While we were afield in the country several days of each week, San Francisco was gathering forces for the final struggle. It was there, of course, that the real contest would center. The country towns in 1896 had given small majorities against suffrage; in fact, all the counties of the State and the inimical Bay cities had together only about equaled San Francisco's adverse vote. We were always reminding ourselves that we had that 23,771 majority in San Francisco staring us in the face. Three votes in every four there had been against us. And now at the last the antis were coming out of their shell. The whisky interest was contributing openly to defeat us.

A man had been found to tell the world thunderously that "Man is man, and woman is woman," the only man in Northern California who was found to champion that novel idea in the open. Feeling ran high, and one irreverent parodist wrote:

"Little bits of silver,
Little drops of rye,
Make the florid Antis
Spout their reasons why."

Yes, things were happening too fast in San Francisco for the Blue Liner to be country districting.

A gorgeous pageant of "The Progress of Women" was forward in Oakland, new headquarters of our League were springing up in new places, the Central Campaigning Committee was dizzy hurling speakers into distant counties and dragging them back to let fly in another direction. Then came the homing of the more distant country organizers, to be in at the finish. Each day brought a worker in from the field, from far Del Norte or wooded Humboldt, from logging-camps and mining-ledges, where we had sent our best—wan, brown, laughing women, worked down to the nerve, but the nerve gay and steady, full of stories of camp and field, of joyous prophecy, full of delight and confidence in the men of the open. All were in for the final great rally at Dreamland Rink. And such a rally! Thousands stood about the doors of the hall in a great overflow meeting and waited for the speakers to pass out to them from the englamoured hall, and the Blue Liner was there.

You should have seen the grizzled Blue Liner in these last days —the hunter home from the hill—she had run out of enough rubber "inners" to have supplied overshoes to the city for the winter; her chapped casings scaled about her rims, she couldn't pass a repair shop without putting in for temporary relief, and then came her transformation, her transfiguration, such as a good, old, gasoline saint should have.

The day before election, at the noon hour, we were told that Nordica, Madame Nordica, who was here to sing at the Ground

Breaking for the Panama Celebration, had met our arch-diplomatist and fallen. Madame Nordica believed from her heart that women should vote, yes, she would come out into the open square of the city and let her faith be known of all men. Thus the Blue Liner became the frame upon which triumphal garlands were hung. Great wreaths of oak leaves, touched with autumn, yellow chrysanthemums so large that a Californian seemed to have dreamed them, scores of saucy little "Votes for Women" pennants, thrusting pointed tongues out from among the flowers. Over her tired respirator was thrown a white blanket, embroidered in yellow by the eyes of faith and the hands of patience. Her dusty envelope was in turn enveloped in woven reeds bordered with oak and correopsis, her tool-box—dented by irreverent feet—a mat of small bright flowers, and following her long lines, with a loving sense of their fine sweep, crisp garlands of fresh oak. O! wasn't she a wagon to hitch unto a star!

In making her fit for Nordica, for no professional hands touched her, none of us had wit to see that she should bear some legend showing what she was for, that the world might come and hear Madame Nordica speak. Happily, during the afternoon there had been hatched, by the wand of our public meetings' chairman, two extraordinary ephemera, weird advertising wagons with wide, square sails announcing that Madame Nordica would speak on Suffrage in Union Square that evening. These night moths were, I dare not say how tall, but they soared and wavered and heeled about as each trundled behind its single weary horse up and down the streets near Union Square. An unwearied but quite invisible driver rang from the hollow square his hollow bell.

As twilight gathered and the St. Francis Hotel outlined itself in lights, the whole becoming diaphanous gray with Dewey's shaft lifting slim and pale from the blackish shrubbery of the square, the crowd began to thicken and pack itself together in a solid determination to both see and hear Madame Nordica. Closer and closer circled in the two advertising wagons.

"Go way off! Please don't hang about here!" cried the arch-diplomatist, waving her long, black glove at the invisible driver, and he dragged himself quite half a block off, to lash his horse into a hasty return.

"We want other people to know about this meeting. Go way off! Go six blocks off!"

But the desire of the moth for the star was upon him, he could not go. In grotesque faithfulness he and his companion-spirit faltered back.

"Very well! Stop this automobile," waved the glove, "I want to speak to that man." She escaped from wreaths and banners, and caught the advertising waggoner. "You can fall right in here between these machines," she cried, "then they will know why the Blue Liner is so dolled up."

Into the procession fell the tired white horse, a resplendent machine in front and a resplendent machine nosing the rocking frame behind, and so the absurd procession crawled back and forth, six blocks away, the automobiles snuffing angrily at the pace of the white horse.

Then, the hour having come, the Blue Liner went for Madame Nordica. All bright-lipped smiles and pretty gestures she made her charming entry among flowers and wreaths. I think it was really delightful to her, too. The drollery, the grotesqueness of it all, and the rolling heads of the packed crowds, so dearly familiar to the great singer.

The crowd was, of course, five times too great for one outdoor meeting, almost lapping about four sides of the square, so several other machines with speakers were stationed at intervals. At one corner you could hear a worn contralto of thrilling quality saying:

"I come to you with the message of the child"; it was Miss Helen Todd, Factory Inspector from Illinois.

Further on words were being thrown out, round and perfect like bombs, "And Wendell Phillips said, 'You women must wait for freedom. This is the negroes' hour'"; that was Miss Jeanette Rankin, of New York.

But in the midst of everything, Nordica spoke. It was very simply said, just the human need for the full chance for self-expression, and then, to the joy of all, she sang. She asked the crowd to sing with her, but they were wise and, after a moment, fell silent.

"She's singing, she's singing," cried those on the outer circles of the crowd, and the voice that had not reached them in speaking drifted over their heads in music, and faded against the night.

And the Blue Liner that had carried noise and disputation, that had been a day-laborer and a hod-carrier, a circus tent and an express wagon, "a penny-postman by day and a dancing-dervish by night," came into her own.

But in California even a climax has its "anti," and so the Blue Liner left the garage in the gray dawn of the following day—Election Day—and with faded garlands started back to work.

Out in the Relief Home there were several hundred old men, men on crutches, men who could not see very "good," but who had listened to the speakers we had sent them, who told them of our hope. Their old hearts had warmed to the thought of casting a lame man's, or a blind man's, or a dying man's perfectly sound vote "for the women." "We fellows that are on the scrap-heap ain't afraid of the women," one of them said. And so it was that all day long, with more and more bedraggled plumage the Blue Liner plied back and forth with her crippled loads, until the last old voter had lightened his own cross by stamping one opposite the "Woman's Amendment."

Louise Herrick Wall.

GROUPS OF ALLIED ACTIVITIES.

Report on Presenting Equal Suffrage to School Teachers.

It seemed very important to reach the 1400 school teachers of San Francisco in some direct manner, and to enlist them as workers for the Woman Suffrage Amendment. With the permission of the Board of Education, we carried on a series of noon meetings during the two last months of the campaign. On invitation of the principal—in nearly every case given most graciously upon telephonic request—a speaker was sent by us to meet informally, but by appointment, the group of teachers of each school during the lunch hour.

The speaker had time briefly to present simple arguments, and to encourage discussion. She had an opportunity to impress the indifferent suffragists in the group with the need for their active participation in the work, by distributing leaflets, by attending meetings with friends who were indifferent or actually opposed to the idea of woman suffrage, and by making every effort to present our case to all the voters with whom she came in contact—not forgetting her butcher and baker.

Among the teachers, as among all classes of women, we found the inertia of the "lay" suffragist, who, because her affairs made it impossible for her to be officially active in the campaign work, did not realize that she could be, and that it was most urgently necessary that she should be,—a center of influence and of activity in propaganda.

In each school the speaker selected as leader some enthusiast who promised to distribute leaflets and buttons and polling-cards, to associate herself with the general campaign activities, and to keep the issue alive among the teachers of her school. These leaders were invited to several conferences with the committee on propaganda work in the schools, on Saturday mornings at headquarters.

In a longer campaign it would be well to begin work among teachers, as indeed all educational work, as early as possible—this work being in its nature slow in results. A teacher, who at this late stage of the suffrage agitation is still opposed to it, is apt to be entrenched behind strong reasons, strong feeling and strong prejudices, and time is needed for her conversion.

The selection of the noon hour for these little meetings had the advantage of informality and of not making a fresh demand on the teachers' time, as an after-school meeting would do. The shortness and necessary punctuality of the appointment also made it possible to get doctors and other professional women to promise to speak at a noon school meeting when they could not give time to make part of the elastic program of a big public meeting. It might, too, be dif-

ficult to get the attendance of the antis at an after-school meeting, as, of course, such attendance is purely voluntary. The disadvantages of the noon hour are, however, its brevity, the liability of interruption and the occasional imperative absence of some of the teachers or the principal. In all cases where the interest warrants it, an after-school meeting would be advisable.

Wherever the requisite coöperation of the Board of Education could be obtained, the work among the teachers should be preceded by a general meeting, called especially for them, at which the professional advantages of equal suffrage should be touched upon, but where the chief appeal should be to the teachers as men and women, and as responsible and representative members of the community.

We found about three-fourths of the teachers in sympathy with what we stood for, but only a small percentage strongly active. We have reason to believe that numbers of the indifferent suffragists were aroused and stimulated by the visits of our speakers to a realization of their responsibilities, and our need of them. And although the time was too brief to make any real conversions, the results, on the whole, justified the expenditure of time and energy.

Dora T. Israel, Chairman.

German Organizations.

Miss Lorraine Cerf, who was chairman of this work, writes of it:

"Two of us were detailed to arrange that a talk on woman suffrage was heard by every German association, gathered for any purpose, in the City of San Francisco. We had found that it was impossible to get foreigners, in numbers, to come out to our public meetings. Those who were not opposed to this extension of suffrage were, in the main, quite indifferent to it. This made it necessary that we should bring our speakers before them, in a way and at a time that would not make too heavy a drain upon their tolerance.

"First, we made a list of German societies of all sorts; social, fraternal, singing, benevolent, athletic, military. We found people grouped about unexpected interests and we studied the groupings, for we realized the economy of using the formations that already existed. In making our first lists the City Directory and club rosters were useful, and later the officials of one society supplied us with the names of other groups.

"The next step was to talk with the officers of the various societies whose names we had learned. We found that it was important to reach the chief officers, those second in command frequently discouraged our plans even after we had the sanction of their superiors. There were some minor officials with less conservative ideas, however; some who even suggested the names of the best men to see, as well as the office hours, and personal characteristics of those who were in a position

to put our plan on a practical footing. In several cases the members of societies volunteered to make all the arrangements necessary to give our speaker a place upon the platform.

"In the course of our work we often came to know the names of a number of the men important in the work of their societies, and this was of so much practical use that we saw that, had there been more time, it might have been worth while to have known more of the membership of the beleaguered club before we opened fire.

"Of the officer in charge of the matter we asked that one or more of our speakers might be given ten or twenty minutes at one of their full meetings (never a special meeting called for the purpose), to present the question of equal suffrage to them. In every instance, except one, we were received and treated with courtesy. Sometimes the officials could not give permission, without an appeal to their directors, but the permission that followed made us know that this was no mere subterfuge. Every society, except the few from which all political discussion was barred, made definite dates when our speakers would be welcome to appear before their members; and we, in turn, urged that our representatives take exactly the time agreed upon."

Equal Suffrage to Lodges.

Miss Clara Schlingheyde had charge of the work of bringing speakers before lodges and fraternal organizations; of it she says:

"One of the ways by which we reached the 'unawakened' voter was directly through his own organization and indirectly through his sisters' organizations; that is, through lodges, fraternal and benevolent orders and kindred associations. The secret nature of some of the men's societies was a bar to admission in a number of cases. Others were inhospitable to the idea of having their orders used for suffrage propaganda. But wherever hearings were granted, results showed the value of the undertaking, as a means of taking the subject, in the minds of the men, out of the freak class and promoting it to a higher plane.

"Where organizations had a central body composed of locals, we secured from a chief officer of the central body a letter to each local asking the courtesy of a twenty-minute hearing during one of their regular business sessions.

"When it was possible we had two speakers address each meeting, perhaps as much to give the speakers the moral support that comes from company, as to furnish a variety of suffrage gospel to our lodge friends. Each speaker gave an informal ten-minute talk, crowding into it as many points as possible, and illuminating the arguments with apt illustrations. The subject was comparatively new to most of our

hearers ,and we found it expedient for the 'first treatment' to keep close to elementals, like the taxation without representation argument.

"San Francisco has a great many lodges and societies of that sort, so we were obliged to visit two, and sometimes three or four, in an evening to get round to them all.

"Finding so many patient and courteous listeners convinced us that these associations afford a very important field for suffrage propaganda. I would suggest, however, that where the time is limited preference be given to men's organizations, since to reach the voter is the most essential thing."

To the Native Daughters.

"On the theory that every woman influences at least one man, we sent speakers to the parlors of the Order of the Native Daughters, in San Francisco.

"Permision was first obtained from the Grand President of the Native Daughters to allow speakers to go before such parlors as expressed their willingness to listen to a discussion of the matter, and from the central organization lists of the names of the secretaries were procured. These officers were called up by telephone and only one refused permission for a speaker to come before her parlor.

"Of these meetings one of the visiting speakers writes, 'The parlors that I visited were in outlying districts of the city. The members were quite young working girls, such as factory girls and box-makers, with an older woman, usually, as president. They listened courteously but I hardly think we converted many of these girls to suffrage, if they were not already predisposed toward it. However, we aroused interest in the question and made it easier for a later speaker.'"

To Commercial Bodies.

Dr. Rachel L. Ash says of presenting suffrage before commercial bodies:

"The committee formed for this work consisted of eight active members, and was organized two and one-half months before the close of the campaign. Its original purpose was to place the Woman Suffrage Amendment, by means of short, informal talks, before the employes of the retail district of San Francisco.

"The managers of twelve large stores were interviewed. Two gave us permission to address their employes at the luncheon hour only. As all male clerks go out at this time, this plan at once showed itself to be impractical in not reaching voters. In these stores the women take their rest in relays, and so only a limited number listened to our talks.

"Of the two managers who allowed us access to their clerks, one was lukewarm in favor of the amendment, and the other opposed it. The audience was correspondingly indifferent in the one shop, and distinctly antagonistic in the other. In both places the speaker was obliged to introduce herself to her hearers.

"The committee records this work in the retail district as a failure.

"As in San Francisco the greatest opposition to the proposed amendment came from commercial bodies, the work of our committee was extended from retail stores to the more important commercial organizations of the city. We addressed, or circularized, telephone and gas companies, street railroads, employes' associations, advertising clubs, builders' exchanges, factory employes, bank clerks—in short we attempted to reach every considerable aggregation of workers related to the community in a business way. Here the committee was more than moderately successful. The best results were obtained where the managers of heads of departments were favorable to the movement and where they showed enough interest to publish their opinions and to introduce our speakers."

TEMPORARY HEADQUARTERS.

Palace Hotel.

This was an experiment in establishing headquarters to receive visitors from the National Education Association, in a conspicuous place, at a time when a great national convention met in San Francisco.

A room was rented in the Palace Hotel for the week of the convention. It was decorated with yellow flowers and made as attractive and homelike as possible, and kept open from ten in the morning until eight in the evening. Various members of the League divided the work of staying to receive and there were always two and sometimes as many as four or five women present to welcome and talk to the visitors.

Two books were kept—a Visitors' Book and a Workers' Book. The Visitors' Book was a mere record of the names of those who came into headquarters; the Workers' Book recorded the names and addresses of people who were willing to work for equal suffrage in their home centers, and wished to keep up a relation with the League.

One of the best features of the week's work was the afternoon meeting in the Ladies' Parlor of the hotel, at which some of the most distinguished educators of the country,—women known all over the country—who were attending the convention, spoke on the value of the ballot.

The cost of the experiment was covered by the gift of a former president of the League, herself a teacher for many years. All the flowers used in the decorations were given by members of the League, and a professional decorator gave her services in arranging them.

I think the work was, on the whole, worth doing. It brought us, for one thing, directly in touch with the entire school system of the State. Every county superintendent visited—voluntarily or involuntarily—our headquarters, and every county superintendent went away with the knowledge that, whatever the status of woman suffrage in his or her county, it was a large and living issue in San Francisco. Many teachers from country districts who said that they did not know whether they really believed in suffrage or not—didn't know much about it—had a chance to talk over the question and to get our leaflets. We distributed a great amount of this material during the week, but valuable as that was I think it was the contact, the coming into relation with people who were doing things, that gained us the most converts.

Our room was very favorably situated to catch driftage—people

who just floated in on the sight-seeing tide—and many of these people went away with a slightly changed attitude toward the subject of so much jest and so much earnest argument.

The establishment of the Palace Headquarters gave the newspapers a chance to run several feature stories, and all this advertisement increased the mounting sense of the determined and persistent force behind the movement. *Stella Wynne Herron,* Chairman.

State Fair.

Mrs. James B. Hume and Miss Blanche Morse were in charge of headquarters at the State Fair.

"The State Fair, held annually at Sacramento, by the Agricultural Association of California, is attended by many visitors and exhibitors, from all parts of the State, a large proportion of whom, naturally, come from the country.

"Believing it possible to reach many people at this annual gathering, with whom it would be difficult, at another time, to come in contact, the College Equal Suffrage League established suffrage headquarters at Agricultural Park, where the fair was held.

"A large tent was set up, with the permission of the Association directors, on the road leading from the main entrance of the fair. Over the front of the tent five stars were set, each bearing the name of one of the five 'free States,' and upon the sixth were emblazoned the words, 'California Next!' Besides decorations of flags, banners and shields, the booth was supplied with leaflets, posters, buttons and banners, for sale and for free distribution, and here a handful of faithful adherents contested for popular attention with the usual attractions of a fair. The suffrage tent justified its existence by having many visitors.

"In addition to our activities within our own borders, we distributed hundreds of cards in other booths and stalls, placed them upon exhibits and posted them on walls, stands and fences; everywhere, in fact, for which permission could be secured from the city and fair authorities.

"As the crowds shifted in the evening from the fair grounds to the city streets we closed our booth in the evening and instituted street speaking from automobiles. Two or three large crowds, assembled at different points, could be reached in one evening, and as the listeners were almost entirely men it was an effective way to reach the voter.

"Preliminary work should be done in arranging for some such headquarters as has been described, and a program made for the street speaking in the evening. Organized effort, the coöperation of local women and carefully prepared programs are essential to the success of such enterprises."

Market Street.

Miss Dora T. Israel writes of temporary headquarters on Market Street:

"A store was procured on Market Street in a situation that, though it warranted a considerable rental, was considered worth all reasonable expense because of the crowds that passed its door.

"Immediately material was gathered to make an attractive window display that would catch the eye, make the passer-by stop to read the placards and perhaps come in. He was encouraged to do this by large signs that announced:

" 'Suffrage Headquarters and Information Bureau:
Suffrage Literature Free. Welcome—Come In.'

"Yellow was the background for all placards and posters. Yellow chrysanthemums and 'Votes for Women' banners gave a bit of additional color and effectiveness. About the window, from time to time, crowds gathered to read such legends as Mrs. Gilman's familiar one in relation to pure milk reform:

" 'Politics is not Outside the Home, but Inside the Baby.'

"Within the store were tables on which was placed leaflets selected to meet the demands of all kinds of minds, and these were freely distributed to all who were interested. No one who would wear a 'Votes for Women' button went away undecorated. Many people were told about the amendment and the reasons for urging its adoption, by women who talked informally to all who entered. Suffrage placards that could be placed in public or private windows, or on fences, were given away, and each person was urged to present the matter to every man and woman that she could possibly reach.

"Here we had the opportunity to assist the central Election Day Committee by gathering in volunteers for picket duty or as watchers at the polls for October 10th.

"Tables, at which the work was carried on of folding and preparing leaflets for circularizing, attracted considerable attention, lent a busy aspect to the place, and gave the transient volunteer a chance to do something to associate herself, or himself, with the work.

"Another means of reaching hundreds who did not come in was by the constant distribution of leaflets on the sidewalk in front of the store, day and evening, until 9 p. m. We found it better to fold the leaflets to avoid their looking like an ordinary advertising dodger. So few of these papers were dropped upon the pavement near the store that we were encouraged to believe that a large per cent. of the many thousands of leaflets distributed were carried away and read.

"The women standing thus on the outside with leaflets found that they could quietly enter into brief talks with the interested passers, and encourage them to go into the headquarters to supply themselves more fully with literature. Workingmen and women of all

degrees came to us in numbers, especially at noon and on the way home to dinner in the evening, sometimes for information, and sometimes with offers of help. Many of these had not known before how to reach us in our central headquarters. Then, too, the personal element of direct contact with the workers served to intensify and make expressive what had been in many cases only a general interest.

"We would advise the establishment, very much earlier in the campaign, of several such accessible distribution and information bureaus in stores on main streets. These bureaus should have a wide frontage and be very free of access. If sufficiently large, they could be used as auditoriums in which to address the crowds which could be gathered in from the streets, from time to time during the day.

"The cost of maintaining the Market Street headquarters for one week was about $155.00, which was slightly lowered by the sale of prize posters, postals, and stickers, and by a few contributions. The money was well spent, because more people were reached than by some of our more expensive means of advertising and through this recruiting station workers were added to the active list."

Oakland Headquarters.

Of the temporary headquarters in Oakland Miss Ethel Moore writes:

"The College Equal Suffrage League opened headquarters in Oakland the 27th day of September in a vacant store in the gore building at the intersection of two principal streets of the city—Broadway and Telegraph Avenue. The store was secured rent free, a secretary employed, chairs, tables, desks, borrowed or rented, electric lights installed for evening illumination, canvas signs painted for the three sides of our triangular store. The three windows were filled with placards, 'snipes,' bulletins and posters for the benefit of the many passers-by, while bunches of literature were hung on the outside marked 'Take One'—for pedestrians.

"With visitors offering help, and seeking buttons, pennants, literature and other information, there was a steady stream of people, demonstrating forcibly the advertising possibilities of headquarters of the street rather than upstairs in an office building.

"During the two weeks that the Oakland Headquarters were open daily meetings were held at noon in different parts of the city for the manufacturing plants and for the telephone girls.

"For every evening except Sunday, automobiles and speakers were furnished for street meetings. In Oakland within fire limits it is not possible to secure permits for street speaking except for the less crowded corners somewhat off the the beaten track of travel. Appearing regularly at the same corners, we seemed to address the same

individuals night after night, idlers carelessly listening to socialists, fakers or whomsoever would entertain them. Perhaps occasional meetings would have done as much good. We provided speakers also in the evenings for other Suffrage Organizations, Improvement Clubs, Churches, Parlors of Native Daughters, not only for Oakland, but also for Alameda, Berkeley, Fruitvale, San Leandro, Centerville, Haywards, Pleasanton and even Tuolumne, ten hours distant by train.

"For six nights we had suffrage slides over the front of our headquarters, visible some distance down the street. We sent operator, stereopticon and slides to San Leandro, also, slides to Tuolumne. Unfortunately we had but one set. We could have used two or three more sets to much better advantage and without additional cost.

"The general meetings conducted under the College League were as follows, from the Oakland Headquarters:

"Mowbray Hall, Piedmont, the play 'Lady Geraldine's Speech,' with addresses by Miss Fannie W. McLean of Berkeley, and Mrs. R. C. Young of Denver.

"Unity Hall, Oakland, chairman, Dr. Edward Von Adelung; speakers, Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch of Chicago and Miss Helen Todd of Chicago.

"Headquarters, Saturday afternoon, Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley of New York.

"Piedmont Park, Sunday afternoon, chairman, Mr. P. M. Fisher; speakers, Miss Helen Todd, Mrs. John Rodgers, Jr., of New York and Miss Gail Laughlin, of Denver.

"From our headquarters we distributed thousands of dodgers advertising the above meetings. For two days we sent wagons with transparencies through the streets, distributed blotters and leaflets in physicians' and other offices, mailed hundreds of pieces of literature and also furnished ten thousand paper bags, with suffrage inscriptions, to creameries, groceries and stalls in the Free Market."

PROPAGANDA THROUGH ADVERTISING MEDIUMS.

Billboards.

In using the methods of commercial advertising, to put before the people the ideas of an educational campaign, the College Equal Suffrage League was not aiming at commercial results, nor backed by a manufacturer's purse. The money that was used to ask for "Justice for California Women" was raised, in large measure, by working members who cared enough for the reform to give themselves—and their earnings, in many cases—to carry on the work.

Perhaps a touch of this personal passion appeared in the overcrowded posters, measuring seven by ten feet, that, in September, sprang up in two hundred and fifty places in San Francisco. From a commercial point of view, the professional advertisers warned us that the posters were bad, too many words and too many ideas on one sheet. It wasn't good job printing to crowd the space. The answer was that there was too much to say, and too little money to waste, to stickle for appearances.

The compressed phrasing of these four posters, in their four slightly varied forms, seemed to express the tension of the women who put them up. Many members of the League admitted that these great, stern, black-and-white billboards—undecorative and uncompromising—stirred them more than other propaganda of the campaign. As a woman looks at the crude portrait of her son, spread on the hoardings of a city in his first political campaign, and realizes that those things that she has pondered in her heart are at last posted for the world's appraisal, so the suffragist, in fear and elation, rejoiced in her posters with a double sense of creator and spectator.

The second set of fifty, still larger bills, fourteen by twenty feet, more correctly set by the printer, and conspicuously placed, somehow seemed to lack the "first, fine, careless rapture" of the pioneer posters, that nailed their faith to the boards of the city as Luther his to the door of his parish church.

We were all surprised to learn that so momentous a coming-out, as the putting of our ideas into four feet letters, could be done so quickly. The contract can be made with the advertising agent and bills printed and posted in three or four days. The contractor does not do the printing, but he places the posters, according to his agreement, as soon as that work has been done by the printer whose bid was accepted.

A typewritten list of all the locations where posters were to be placed was supplied to the Chairman on Bill Boards, and she drove

about the city and checked up her whole flock, to be sure that none were missing.

For a month the "Justice for California Women" posters stood on the boards, and the big Lincoln poster remained in possession for a week, but the life of the posters was indefinitely extended by the sets of photographs taken from them, that were sent to the States where the same issue was pending. They found their way into advertising journals and scrap-books, all over the land.

Just three days before the day of election the anti-suffragists posted up counter bills saying, "Vote No to Amendment 8."

Signs on Baseball Grounds.

In Oakland space was given for a stretcher that measured three by eleven feet, to be placed in full view of the throngs who go to the games. On this was printed, in letters two feet high, "Votes for Women, Oct. 10."

In San Francisco a like space was bought for a sign thirty-five by eighteen feet. The outlay on these two pieces of advertising was slight compared with the attention they created, week after week, as the expense for both signs amounted to only fifty-five dollars.

Electric Street Signs.

We tried putting up what is called a "talking" electric sign, on Market street near Fourth, the largest business center of the city, but once more the rather complex, educational type of the ideas we wished to place before people were not adapted to the commercial method. A man might stand breathless before a talking sign waiting for the oracle to flash out the words that told him where he could get a two dollar hat, but he would not wait to be told, "Give your Girl an Equal Chance with Your Boy." On this account the talking sign was exchanged for a large, permanent electric sign that, in its bold clearness, exacted a different sort of patience of the reader of signs. *Genevieve Allen,* Chairman.

Report on Putting Up Bay Signs.

In winning favorable consideration for equal suffrage many lovers may be won to the cause by tender persuasion, but some there are who will have to be beset on every hand, until in helplessness before the inevitable, they shrug their shoulders and groan, "Oh, let them have it. I am tired of hearing it, reading it, eating it, going to church with it, seeing it blazoned everywhere, the whole enduring time—let them have their ballot, and give me peace."

With this psychology in mind, I decided to besiege the eye of the Oakland and Berkeley commuter. I had printed on white cloth in black letters a foot high, six signs, two each with the following

wording, brevity being necessary, as they were to be read at a distance, "on the run":

"Votes for Women.
California Next."

"Justice for California Women
Oct. 10."

"Give Women the Vote.
Justice. Oct. 10."

These signs, three feet by six, were framed by the printer and taken in an express wagon to the wharf, where I chartered a launch, packed in hammer, nails and rope, and picked up a stray helper on the dock.

All this had been preceded by an unofficial visit to an Oakland official, selected for his pro-suffrage views. I announced my wish to use the Oakland "waterfront" and asked what would happen.

"Why-y," said he, smiling, "I suppose if you took liberties with Oakland property and some one should object, and put in a complaint, it would be the duty of the Chief of Police to send out there and have the offending signs taken down."

We made our way, in a heavy wind, to the crazy structures in the bay called "duck-blinds," from whose brushy cover sportmen shoot flying game. Here we managed to make four of our quaking signs fast. As we secured them we noticed, in the shelter of the wharf, two boys at anchor in a small boat. In our haste we failed to propitiate the male non-voter. The following day from the Southern Pacific train we saw that the better half had been cut from women and the sign read "Votes for —men." The other signs remained untouched, and made their appeal for months to the thousands that passed that way.

The two other signs intended for San Francisco were stored in a hospitable launch-house, while I laid siege to the Harbor Commissioners.

After interviewing various secretaries and clerks, each of whom said that the Commissioners were all off electioneering, and sympathetically explained to me the waste of time it was to try to see them, as under no circumstances would they allow signs on that property, I learned that the Commissioners had come together. I went before them and presented my plan.

I showed them that my signs were not political, were not for financial gain, were, in fact, announcements of public concern, were of neat and chaste design calculated to adorn the blank, unpainted board fences I had selected as a background.

The Commissioners exacted my promise to remove them after election, and I went off to put them on at once.

I found a sailor sitting on a pile of rusty chains. We together

carried the six-foot signs to their places, while hundreds of people, bound to and from the ferries, looked on delighted or amused, according to their bias.

And the promise to the Commissioners? Two days after election the signs were lying in our headquarters, never to be needed again in California. *Londa Stebbins Fletcher.*

Report on Foreign Advertising.

We decided to pay for the publication of an advertisement in the foreign newspapers of San Francisco during the last week of the campaign. The reason for this decision was that we felt that the mere distribution of the circulars that we had had translated into Italian, French, Spanish, German and Portuguese was reaching only a small percentage of the large foreign vote of the city, and not having the least effect on the thousands throughout the State.

In Oakland and San Francisco there were two papers published in each language: French, Italian, German, Swiss and Portuguese, and their subscribers numbered many thousands; the oldest Italian paper, "Voce del Popolo," claiming a subscription list of 12,000.

The editor of the "Voce del Popolo" was not friendly to equal suffrage at our first interview, but, after some discussion, admitted the justice of the arguments for it. He did not change the policy of his paper, but he was willing to publish signed articles on the subject, without payment, and, during the last week, published in a conspicuous place, at greatly reduced advertising rates, our leaflet to voters.

The other Italian paper, "Italia," was in favor of the adoption of the amendment and gave editorial support to our paid announcement. One of the French papers which was opposed to women having the ballot, nevertheless printed our leaflet on the first page, for a nominal sum, while the other French paper, though calling itself favorable, was "making no propaganda," until we provided the material.

There was nothing equivocal in the attitude of either of the German papers. Both were frankly against giving votes to women. The editor of the "Zeitung" had been in America only five years and was unprogressive. As a matter of business, however, he was willing to place our advertisement on his first page with the reading matter, two small letters at the bottom of the column indicating, to the initiated, that the article was paid for. In his last issue before election he instructed his readers to "Vote Against" the 8th Amendment, 4th place on the ballot. Many, however, must have read and considered the arguments presented in our article, in spite of the editorial advice.

Both Swiss papers were sympathetic with the movement for making actual citizens of women. "Our women want it," one of

their editors said, and that seemed a sufficient reason. These two Swiss papers were the only ones that printed our matter without wishing to be paid. They received the copy as though we were doing them a kindness.

The Portuguese papers gave us editorial support as soon as we advertised with them. We had no means of reaching the Spanish voters, in this way, as they had no newspaper.

The editor of one of the Chinese papers of San Francisco was an outspoken friend to woman suffrage and, from time to time, during the campaign published items of interest on the subject.

Some of the papers in which we published the advertisement were dailies, and others appeared only twice or three times a week. During the week before the election our arguments for woman suffrage appeared, several times over, in ten different papers, subscribed for by many thousands of people of foreign birth, who would have heard of the matter in no other way.

The total expense was $174.00.

Belle Judith Miller, Chairman.

Report on Street-Car Advertising.

While we were all wearing the badge of youth, which is called expectancy, the street-car plan was written on the minutes. It was the idea of no one in particular, but seems to have been generated by everyone. In order that it should not suffer from the blight of a common interest a chairman and committee of three were appointed when the campaign was about one month old. We discovered that we had to part not only with the small change of our illusions, as to the cost of street-car advertising, but also with the large sum of about $800, in order to make a thorough propaganda campaign in the street-cars.

The committee was informed by the advertising company that its policy demanded at least a three months' contract, and in a very short time $325 was subscribed to this special fund. No particular effort was made to interest people whose pocket nerves have always been diagnosed as sensitive to the suffrage appeal. The four members of the committee wrote or made personal appeals to friends or acquaintances.

The psychology of these subscriptions is interesting. One woman wrote that she was only a potential suffragist and therefore would give only $5, the implication being that her financial possibilities might increase with conversion; another woman sent $20 with a note saying that she was not in the least interested in the cause but was interested in the committee member who made the request; two men who sent $5 each, frankly avowed they were "on the fence." Per-

sonal relationship figured in such instances and at such a time. Later in the campaign when organized opposition had had its effect I doubt whether personal relationship could have crystallized subscriptions out of anyone who had not subscribed to the tenets of the suffragists. The Indifferents accented their indifference toward the end of the campaign.

Concentration of energy could undoubtedly have raised the $325 to the $800 declared by the advertising experts to be the smallest possible amount for street-car advertising. But during the weeks that followed the formation of the committee, a doubt arose as to the wisdom of spending such a sum in this particular way. Repeated interviews with the representatives of the company disclosed a special clause in their policy which permitted them to write special contracts for less than three months for political propaganda. It might be suggested here that it would be well to look for "special clauses" in the beginning of a campaign. After the discovery of this "special clause" the board of directors voted to advertise for one month at a cost of $200, exclusive of printing the placards. However, with true feminine genius the committee managed to get a bargain. Instead of five hundred placards allotted by such a contract, six hundred were placed in the cars and an extra week was thrown into the bargain for good weight.

The placards were 11x14 inches in size: nine different texts were used and on the advice of experts the placards were not crowded with printed matter, and "the copy" was as crisp as possible. "Give your girl the same chance as your boy," "Women pay taxes, give those who pay some say," were two of the texts freely used. Abraham Lincoln's endorsement of woman suffrage was printed on a great many of the placards, followed by the interrogation "Do you agree with Abraham Lincoln?" The value of this interrogation is evident for it puts the reader in the position of disagreeing with the great martyred President unless he decides to vote for woman suffrage. Governor Johnson's indorsement of woman suffrage was not followed by an interrogation. Oh, we learned many things from those advertising experts besides the suggestion that it was taking a chance to ask the public whether it dared to take issue with a living Governor.

Each and every text had "Vote for Amendment 8, October 10th." After the placards had been up two weeks it was decided that the use of Amendment 8 was a menace and the original texts were reprinted with "Vote for Woman Suffrage, Fourth Place on the Ballot," in place of "Amendment 8."

In the beginning of the campaign both the College League and the majority of the delegates to the Interleague Conference had opposed calling the Suffrage Amendment by number, as we knew it would not be, in all probability, in the 8th place on the ballot and we feared a natural confusion arising from the 8th Amendment oc-

cupying some other place on the ballot. The number of the Amendment did, however, creep into common use as a sort of slogan—"Vote for the 8th Amendment," and at the end of the campaign we regretted that our protest had not been more emphatic, for we lost votes through a confusion of the prominent, marginal 4 of place with the less noticeable number of the amendment. All the trouble and expense or reprinting part of our car texts might have been obviated, had we persisted in ignoring the number of the Amendment.

The cars that run into Market street were chosen as our messengers, and in some cars four placards were placed and in others only two. Market street is the main artery of San Francisco, and the committee reasoned that more people who might be influenced by street-car advertising rode on these lines than on any other. It is impossible to give any verified data about the results of this advertising. It was done at the end of a vivid campaign when every method of attracting public attention by great public meetings, street-speaking from automobiles, and bill-board advertisements was being carried to the last point.

My personal opinion is that this form of advertising would be more effective at the beginning of a campaign, and unless the treasury permitted the use of larger spaces than we engaged I question whether it is desirable to use it toward the end. In the beginning it is difficult to bring to the attention of every elector the mere fact that equal suffrage is an issue. In a city where the rate of street-car advertising is not prohibitive, propaganda that was cleverly written and frequently changed would be valuable. We found that it was easy to get publicity in the newspapers, toward the end of the campaign, when our wonderful public meetings, automobile street speaking and other methods of spreading our gospel had forced even the unfriendly papers to recognize us as "News!" I doubt if we needed street-car publicity at that time. We spent $237.30 on this venture. *Ernestine Black*, Chairman.

CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISES.

Central Campaign Committee.

The Central Campaign Committee was formed in July while I was doing some organizing work in Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties. It consisted of five women, each a delegate from one of the five suffrage societies in San Francisco which was doing State work. The delegates were Mrs. Grant Taylor from the State Association, Mrs. Aylett Cotton from the Clubwomen's Franchise League, Mrs. Robert A. Dean, from the Woman Suffrage Party, Miss Maude Younger of the Wage Earners' League, and myself, as the delegate of the College League. When I returned from Southern California I found myself chairman of this new and very important committee which had been formed at the request of Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw of New York. It was the desire of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York to help the women of California by sending money and workers but it was felt that this help should be sent not to any one organization but to all who were engaged in State campaign work. The committee held frequent meetings, the most perfect harmony prevailed and our only sorrow was that we had not had the funds and the workers sooner so that the State might have been more carefully canvassed.

The State Association had had a number of organizers in the field, as had the Clubwomen's Franchise League, and the College League had done Contra Costa County carefully with its Blue Liner in an automobile campaign. We tried not to conflict with work already done but, really, there is little danger of doing any region too thoroughly. The great danger is not of overlapping but of leaving whole regions untouched. Even when one organizer has been through a district another can follow her and attract an entirely different set of people, so potent a thing is personality.

The first money we received was $350.00 contributed by the College Equal Suffrage League. This was the only money contributed by any of the associations whose delegates made up the committee. Mrs. Annie K. Bidwell of Chico gave us $200; General Horace Carpentier, the first Mayor of Oakland, California, now a resident of New York, sent us $500 through Mr. Laidlaw; the Men's League for Equal Suffrage of New York sent us $200; the Woman's Suffrage Party sent us $180; the Rochester Political Equality Club $280, and the remainder was of small sums of ten dollars and over sent to me for suffrage work and turned in to this committee. The whole fund was $1761.00. The money from New York was a tremendous help, as it came at a time when the battle was raging most fiercely, when we needed money tremendously but had no time to

stop to raise it. Besides this money, the New York suffragists from their Self-Sacrifice Week raised the money to pay the railroad expenses of three organizers and speakers to and from California and the Chicago suffragists paid the railway expenses of Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCullough. The expenses of these speakers while in the State and some others were paid by the Central Campaign Committee.

The first piece of work done was the sending of Miss Margaret Haley, the well-known Chicago teacher, and Mrs. Robert Dean, secretary-treasurer of the Committee, on a tour which commenced in Truckee and which took in most of the mountain towns along the line of the Southern Pacific Railway as far down at Sacramento. Miss Haley had come to California with the National Education Association and was available for her expenses. Mrs. Dean made a splendid manager and also a good speech and added the California touch. Most of their meetings were held in halls, as at that time we did not realize the possibilities of the open-air meeting as we did afterwards.

Miss Jeanette Rankin, the organizer and speaker who had worked in the Washington campaign, was the first arrival. She was sent at once to Yolo County, which was well organized, but where a speaker had been asked for. She had a number of successful meetings there and then returned to speak with Dr. Aked in a big meeting in Alameda, which opened the end of the campaign there. The next day she went to Siskiyou County where a whirl of twelve meetings had been arranged for. Siskiyou County was also well organized and all the arrangements had been perfectly made. It was a hard trip with quantities of automobiling over mountain roads and plenty of staging but the county went four to one for suffrage. We knew it would go for suffrage and we were much criticized for sparing a speaker for a county which was already well organized and which was sure to vote for us, but the theory of the committee was that large majorities should be worked up in places where the sentiment was favorable, and the result justified the theory. From Siskiyou Miss Rankin made a fifty-mile stage trip to Weaverville, the county seat of Trinity County, where no work had been done. There was only one paper in the county and not a single suffrage club. Miss Rankin spoke in two Trinity towns and the county carried for suffrage. From Trinity Miss Rankin returned into Shasta and Tehama Counties, where some work was done under conditions not entirely favorable. From there she went to Butte County, which before her arrival was well organized and where she worked during the county fair, took the suffrage moving pictures on a tour of the mines and helped the local workers. Just a week before election Miss Rankin was recalled to San Francisco, where she spoke three or four times a day from then until October tenth, before street railway

employes, in factories, from automobiles in the street—wherever the call came. Miss Rankin's work was always effective.

Mrs. James B. Hume and Miss Blanche Morse did an excellent piece of work for the Committee. They were sent to Humboldt and Del Norte Counties in the most northwestern corner of California, with four long automobile stage rides over the mountains. Humboldt County had carried for suffrage in 1896 but nothing had been done there in this campaign and there was not a suffrage club in the county. The Socialist women were doing something but the suffragists who were not Socialists feared that the county would be lost and yet seemed unable to take the initiative. Mrs. Hume is a former president of the California Federation of Women's Clubs and Miss Morse was the Federation secretary. Naturally they appealed strongly to club women. They spoke between heats at the races; occupied pulpits on Sunday evenings, had receptions given them by exclusive clubs and made suffrage so popular that the amendment carried by large majorities in both counties.

Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley and Mrs. A. C. Fisk came out from New York together, as the gift of the Woman Suffrage Party. Mrs. Greeley was taken from the train at Reno and sent on a trip to far-off Modoc and Lassen Counties in the extreme northeast of California. There was very little organization in Lassen County, none in Modoc, but in both places Mrs. Greeley rallied the suffragists, made many converts and landed the counties on the victorious side on October tenth. The Lassen County women had not, previous to Mrs. Greeley's coming, expected to carry their county.

As soon as Mrs. Greeley reached San Francisco after her arduous journey, for she, too, had great distances to travel by stage, she was sent to Sonoma County, a wine-growing county, where the situation was difficult. There were a good many suffragists in Sonoma County and the press work had been admirably done, but there was fear that the wine interests would prevent us from carrying the county. Mrs. Greeley made mostly open-air speeches, had large crowds to hear her and undoubtedly helped to work up our large majority in the county.

On her return to San Francisco, Mrs. Greeley made a trip to Sacramento, where she spoke. The rest of her time was given to Oakland and San Francisco, where she spoke constantly several times a day in halls and from automobiles during the last ten days of the campaign. She was the chief speaker at the overflow meetings which took place in front of Dreamland Rink, on the night of the last wonderful rally of the campaign, when six thousand people crowded the building and four thousand stood outside. She also spoke at the overflow meeting which took place outside the Valencia Theater on the occasion of the suffrage debate between Colonel Irish and Dr. Aked.

Mrs. Fisk was sent at once to eastern Alameda County, where there was grievous need for work. There she organized and spoke most successfully. With Mrs. Greeley, Mrs. Fisk spoke at the Colorado Experience meeting given by the College League at Scottish Rite Hall and then went to Lake County. From there she took a long stage ride to Solano County, where almost nothing had been done and where she was successful in rousing an interest which carried the county. Mrs. Fisk, Mrs. Greeley and Miss Rankin all worked at the polls on election day, as did Miss Helen Todd. These women, though among the best known suffrage organizers and speakers in the country, did not think it beneath their dignity to stand at the polls all day with the President and all the Directors of the College Equal Suffrage League. This last pathetic effort of "indirect influence" in California was one which the workers will never forget.

Meanwhile Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCullough had come to Southern California on the invitation of Mr. J. H. Braly and he had offered her services to the Central Campaign Committee. We were feeling that we had neglected the populous San Joaquin Valley, though much work had been done there earlier in the campaign, and Miss Gail Laughlin, Dr. Aked, Mrs. Mackrille, Mrs. Childs, Mr. Grant Taylor and others had made many speeches in the important towns and cities. We were very glad to have Mrs. McCullough make a somewhat more comprehensive tour of the San Joaquin Valley and consequently Mr. Grant Taylor was sent down from San Francisco to survey the ground, to meet Mrs. McCullough and to divide the time at his disposal as advantageously as possible. We found by experience that two people working together do three times as much work as one alone and whenever it was possible we worked our speakers in pairs. Mrs. McCullough's talks were made almost entirely in the open air and were very effective. She was in San Francisco for the big Dreamland Rink rally, spoke in San Jose and Oakland and left for Chicago just before election day.

Except for a few local workers who were engaged for very short periods or for talks in single towns this was the most important work done by the committee. When all the bills were paid there was a very small balance which was put in the savings bank and used for suffrage work in some other campaign State. Two hundred dollars was contributed by this committee toward the work of Miss Gail Laughlin's Election Day Committee which had charge of the work at the polls, the watching of the count and the watching of the ballots during the exciting days which followed. Much of Miss Laughlin's work was State work, as a watcher was placed at every county seat in California when it was found that the vote was so close and the majority so small that it must be watched.

There will always be, I suppose, a feeling of pride which makes a State hesitate before it invites speakers and workers from other

States to help in its campaign. This feeling is very strong in California and many resolutions had been passed against asking the National Association to take any part in the campaign. In spite of this somewhat churlish attitude the National assisted California most generously financially. This same feeling cropped up in some places in California against the Eastern speakers so generously sent to us. It is true, undoubtedly, that a mediocre local woman can often do more effective work than a brilliant woman who knows nothing of local conditions, but when all is said and done there is always a dearth of workers at the end of a campaign. It is a question of outside workers or none. There are comparatively few women who can leave their homes or their professions or their businesses to tour the State. We had a great many workers who could give almost all day in their home cities, if they were homekeepers, or a part of the day if they were business or professional women but who could not go away for weeks at a time. I shall always feel that California would not have been carried had it not been for the time and money which our Eastern brothers and sisters gave to us so generously during the last two months. We had not the workers, our funds were rapidly being exhausted; we had all of us given of time and strength and money to the limit, when this timely aid came. Let us give credit where credit is due.

Mabel Craft Deering, Chairman.

Lantern Slides.

The idea of using lantern slides in suffrage propaganda came to us through Mrs. E. L. Watson, president of the California Equal Suffrage Association, for early in the day she had outlined the plan in a circular letter on campaign methods. Mrs. B. Grant Taylor, of the same association, was made the chairman of a committee to get a collection of slides together and she describes her work in the following paragraphs:

"We first investigated the possibility of moving pictures, but discovered this would be beyond our means, and was also impracticable with the short time we had in which to have films made and to get them placed in the Circuit, or Trust. I then turned my attention to the stereopticon slide plan, believing that these could be used in three ways:

"First, inserted between the moving pictures, by friendly theater men.

"Second, used with ordinary lanterns, supplemented with a talk in connection with church, lodge and school entertainments.

"Third, on outside screen upon the streets, with advertisements or political returns.

"All of these methods were actually employed during the cam-

paign. While we were investigating these possibilities, we were called into consultation with Miss Belle Miller of the College League, who lent us helpful suggestions. We found, however, that many of our ideas could not be carried out. To make special slides would be too expensive, and again the short time was a decided limitation.

"I went to Mr. George Kanzee, a large dealer in slides, who proved a courteous and earnest suffragist. Out of his collection of pictures we selected those which illustrated certain suffrage arguments, and he also made a few special slides for us. Of these there were Lincoln's head with his famous suffrage sentiment; several cartoons from the Woman's Journal; one of the English posters, and a postal card or two. We found, ready for use, family pictures, which we contrasted with the picture of the widow wage-earner; there were pictures of children playing in the streets, their only playground, juvenile court children; dependent children in an institution; there was a picture of a baby with his mother, then with his bottle, then a picture of the milk depot; after this group came a slide with the words: 'Between the cow and the baby are the milk-man and milk inspector.' There were several patriotic pictures, and a set showing women in various industries.

"Altogether there were forty slides—thirty pictures and ten lettered slides—which could be used continuously with a talk, or broken into short sets, each illustrating a suffrage argument.

"The College League approved of our committee's work, and ordered three of our sets, one for use in Contra Costa County, and two sets for the Bay Counties.

"Our committee sent out two hundred and fifty letters telling of the plan to the local unions of the Women's Christian Temperance organizations. We charged thirteen dollars for a set of forty slides, or two dollars for one of the small groups. The State Association furnished seven sets of slides as a gift to that number of counties. Five sets were ordered by other counties. Two sets were taken by organizers into distant counties and used with effect. We have reason to believe that the method proved itself good in nickelodeons in the outlying districts of big cities and in country towns.

"Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, who was on my committee, gave a number of talks in connection with the pictures, several times in nickelodeons, once in one of the big theaters in San Francisco, and once at an Industrial Fair. In several counties the pictures were thrown on outside screens, before large audiences. Always they were received in a friendly spirit, and with amusement at the women's persistence in getting their demand before the people at unexpected times and places.

"For a little less than two hundred dollars we know that thousands of people, many of whom would never have gone to hear a suffrage speech, listened to our arguments."

Of her use of the slides Mrs. Mackrille says:

"We would go to the proprietor of a nickelodeon and make a business proposition, something like this: 'If you will show our suffrage slides, in addition to your regular run, allowing an accompanying explanation by one of our speakers—in all to occupy fifteen minutes—we will advertise your show for that night through the newspapers, posters and handbills.'

"We were not once refused the privilege. As a matter of fact it was a favorable arrangement for the showman, for we always secured a good audience."

Labor Day Float.

On Labor Day, 1911, the usual parade was to be enlivened by decorated floats, representing the amendments that had been endorsed by the Labor Unions.

Miss Maude Younger, of the Wage-Earners' League, and also a member of the College Equal Suffrage League, secured permission from the authorities to enter a float, to symbolize the 8th Amendment, in the Labor Day procession. This was possible because Union Labor had given its endorsement to woman suffrage.

After gaining the concession—to allow this amendment to be represented among the others approved by labor—Miss Younger reported that The Wage Earners' Suffrage League, being made largely of girls of limited leisure, could not arrange for a satisfactory float in the short time before Labor Day, and she urged the College League to take over the enterprise. This opportunity to visualize before tens of thousands of people the need of the working-woman for the vote, was one not to be let slip.

The College League detached several workers, already overwhelmed with chairmanships, to call a meeting of delegates from the other organizations, to make immediate plans for the float. A small committee, representing several other leagues, who also contributed toward the expense, met and worked out a design. Miss Younger supplied the names of a number of working-girls who would represent their own trades in the groups on the float, and herself agreed to sit with the driver and hold the reins.

A heavy platform was built over a truck drawn by six black horses—a team that had been a prize-winner—each horse wore a yellow blanket lettered in black with the words, "Votes for Women." A smaller platform surmounted the large one and upon this were posed two classical figures representing California asking Justice for the ballot. Below, and all about the sides of this raised group, were realistic groups of women—working-women—busy with the materials of their actual trades. One was a group of cannery girls pasting labels on fruit cans with deft, accustomed strokes; another was of

real shop-girls working at a ribbon counter; and another a typewriter at her machine. A trained nurse, in uniform, and a college woman, in cap and gown, had come to stand for their professions.

The most graceful group was a mother surrounded by young children, and the most significant, a woman driving her sewing-machine as she "finished" coarse overalls for the jobber.

At the four corners of the float, four great shield-shaped banners, in white and yellow, and raised high on tall flagstaffs, carried to the crowd the explanation of the float, with the familiar phrases of this war of peace.

As, in the midst of the parade, the suffrage float swung down Van Ness avenue, the thousands, roped back by the police, saw from far off the high-swinging, boldly lettered banners, wreathed in fresh oak garlands, and as they saw they clapped and cried out, or hissed, the tossing emblems. Laughter and greetings came down from the crowded windows, all along the miles of the parade's course. Down toward the ferry several sober members of the College League ran for blocks abreast of the float, to try to seize the spirit of the crowd, as our yellow challenge ran through the people's coolness like a hot iron through water, and raised a passing mist of passion from the crowd.

The beautiful horses, the chrysanthemums and garlands about the low rail of the car, the high banners and repeated stress of phrase and color made the demonstration pleasant to the senses, but its real significance lay in the fact that working-women, in plain working-clothes, gave up their holiday to endure the severe fatigue of being jolted through the streets for hours, placarded with great signs saying, "These are the women who need the vote." The sincerity of the appeal, the plain, tired faces of some of the women reached men who know what it is to work for wages, and what it is to ask for a withheld right.

When at the foot of Market street, in the square in front of the ferry, the float at last lurched to a heavy standstill, and the hot, bedecked horses were led away, the women who had dressed the float came to strip it. Then the crowd closed in about the platform cheering and clamoring for flowers and bits of ribbon, calling, "Speech! Speech!" until the workers, who had been up since dawn, mounted to the half-stripped boards and once more, to hundreds of quieted men, spoke of what political equality means to working-women. And once more came the quick understanding response of the man on the street to the woman in earnest. A workingman who was hurrying by turned his head and secretly spun a silver dollar to the platform and dived away in the crowd. These were the men who, a few weeks later, lowered the adverse vote in San Francisco, from what it had been in 1896, by more than thirteen thousand counts.

Out of our experience with the Labor Day Float few practical

ideas cleared themselves: Have a chairman who knows the city and how to lay hands quickly on all sorts of materials; don't make your float pretty at the expense of conveying a real idea in a genuine way —had our working women been beauties from a chorus the effect of our float would have been lost; avoid a trite and classical design, people are classical when they have nothing to say; have big banners and bold lettering that your demonstration may express, from a long way off, the vigor and the courage of your faith.

Report on Suffrage Campaign in Sacramento.

It was reported to the College Equal Suffrage League, about the first of September, that the women of the State Capital, at Sacramento, felt the need of help in their suffrage campaign. I was sent there, about two weeks later, to see what the League could do. I found that the chief work that had been attempted had been begun early in the summer, by the representatives of the State League, and had not been followed up because of want of money and of speakers.

The first difficulty to be met was the lack of money. The College League had agreed to pay my expenses, and later gave me $25.00 to buy suffrage literature. The local State Branch had already spent all that they could raise.

The second difficulty was lack of time to stimulate real interest among the people.

The third, was lack of trained speakers and workers to organize meetings, canvass and raise money.

There was, moreover, a diffusion of interest in this campaign, because of the fact that there were twenty-three amendments to be voted upon at this election, of which the woman suffrage amendment was reckoned about fourth in point of general importance.

The attention of the women was still further distracted by a very serious local liquor issue—whether saloons should be permitted in a newly annexed suburban residence district. The members of the W. C. T. U. felt that the liquor issue was perhaps the more important.

I knew when I went there, that the most influential body of women in the city was The Woman's Council, a very small representative body composed of voluntary delegates from every woman's society in the city—sewing societies, temperance, charity, mission and Church organizations—whose object was civic and social betterment of the community. This Club had shortly before shown itself very active in a matter of local improvement and were about to plunge into the saloon fight; although suffrage would be only one of several interests I thought the Council would be a promising field to begin with, and I found it so. The second day after I arrived, I got a hearing and pre-

sented a plan for coöperative campaigning among all the women's societies where there was a majority in favor of suffrage. There were only twenty-five women present but each one was a leader in her own organization and an immediate response came from those who were themselves suffragists. Some months before the Council had voted to endorse woman suffrage but it had never voted any money or organized any campaign work. At this meeting it endorsed my rough plans, voted $25.00 and promised some coöperation.

Meanwhile the State Suffrage League had responded to the call of the Sacramento branch for help and sent Mrs. E. V. Spencer, a lawyer well known throughout the city and State, who at once agreed to coöperate with me. The plans adopted by them and accepted by the Woman's Council and the State Suffrage League were as follows:

Press and Publicity—Two young college-bred women of some experience.

Interviewing merchants to arrange for addressing their employes on the premises and to ask them to dress their windows in yellow with suffrage mottoes and banners. Committee of local women who knew the merchants.

Street Speaking—Representative of the State League.

Mass Meeting—To be arranged jointly by League and Council.

Committee to arrange for short speeches before Church societies and clubs.

House to House Canvass—Chairman from W. C. T. U.

Election Day Committee—To be appointed by League and Council jointly.

Committee to reach the S. P. Carshop men, Labor Unions, Y. W. C. A.

Salvation Army.

All committees were to report to their respective organizations; matters not included in the typewritten plan were to be referred to a joint conference of the officers of the two organizations and the two leaders. All were cautioned to avoid overlapping in work and matters of discretion were referred informally to Mrs. Spencer and myself, who stayed at the same hotel and worked hand in hand.

At the beginning it was generally believed that it would be quite impossible to carry the city for suffrage because of the opposition of the liquor interests, the apathy of the more intelligent classes and the lack of money and of adequate time for a well ordered attack. As will be seen by the plan outlined above, we merely jumped in and got a hearing wherever it was possible.

There were only two or three women in the town who could or would speak at meetings; therefore Mrs. Spencer and I spoke several times a day at department stores, for ten minutes at noon or at six o'clock; at church societies and clubs in the afternoons and evenings.

The Southern Pacific authorities declined to allow us to speak to the men in the yards, where about six thousand men are employed, because of their rule against allowing labor agitators to speak there, but they were not unfriendly and suggested that we meet the men at the gates when they came out at night and give them literature. We did this with some timidity and were most cordially treated. The men volunteered remarks as they took the yellow circulars: "All right, lady. I'll vote for you!" "Sure, I will!" "You bet!" and other rough but cordial phrases. We did not say anything to them unless they spoke to us, as a rule, but after the first hundred went by we began to enjoy it. Only the conspicuously foreign men refused the papers or looked unfriendly.

The Secretary of the local Labor Council got permission for us to distribute our literature at the large hall where Mr. Gompers spoke to a crowd of several thousand people. We stood at doorways and on the gallery stairs asking the men to vote for us.

At the principal department stores the proprietors invited their employes to remain for ten minutes to hear us, and themselves undertook to have circulars distributed at all the counters. They had never done this for any cause before, they said, and we felt that it meant a good deal when several hundred employes were willing to listen, after a long day of work. Some of the smaller stores were reluctant to dress their windows but when they found that all the larger stores were going to do so, they also fell in line.

The school authorities were not unfavorable and permitted us to distribute circulars to the children when they went home. In this way we reached a very large number of families that could not have been reached otherwise; for it was very soon discovered that it would be quite impossible to complete the house to house canvass which the ladies of the W. C. T. U. had undertaken.

During the last week of the campaign a mass meeting was held in the High School Auditorium. The young college women of the Publicity Committee, some women librarians and a few school teachers worked up this meeting. There was a large audience of really representative people, good music, and much enthusiasm. To our surprise at least half the audience was composed of substantial men.

Estimating roughly the value of the different lines of work laid down on the original plan, I should conclude: that the press and publicity work was very successful and had much to do with the final vote. But one leading paper was already in favor before we went into the campaign and the other was not actively against suffrage—in other words, we were lucky. The department store work was apparently successful as to friendly relations; but we have no means of knowing how many votes it brought us for more than half of the employes were women. The street speaking was given up because we were told that it had been tried early in the spring with unsatisfactory

results; and also because we could not fill all the demands for speakers at organized meetings, and these seemed to promise more. I do not feel sure, however, that this was not a mistake, if we had been able to get a good outdoor speaker.

The work with the labor men was the most remunerative of all for the amount of effort given to it; and next to it, the talks to a succession of small church and social societies seemed to bring the most response. I did not attempt to raise money and I suppose that the entire amount spent by the College League, the State League, and local individuals would not reach $150. But I do not think the lack of money was anything like the handicap that the lack of trained speakers proved to be; and above all, the late entrance into the field that made concerted effort out of the question.

We had very little hope that the city could be carried for suffrage—we were madly working to reduce what we believed to be an inevitably adverse vote. As it turned out, the city went for suffrage by a very small majority of a few hundred votes, chiefly owing to the favorable Union Labor vote and the vote of the newly annexed suburban district, composed of people of very moderate means who were probably temperance and Church workers.

The experience there suggests—what I think was true of many other country places in the State—that there was a very large body of neutral men voters who hardly thought of suffrage seriously and had not decided how they would vote until they saw a small body of women struggling against great odds. The suffrage movement produces opposite effects on men of three general classes: On men of wealth it offends their sense of propriety because their own womenkind are economically dependent and in their judgment do not need "rights" for self-protection. Moreover people of this class have a stricter code of social behavior and measure women, especially, by it. Men who are tradesmen, clerks, subordinates of various kinds, are used to making women partners in their affairs and to seeing them work hard for the family welfare. They understand, therefore, women's problems better and have a good deal of sympathy with any struggle for liberty. These men are almost wholly American born and retain to a greater extent than any other single group the American sense of fair play and the more generous attitude toward women.

Among the working men, one finds two distinct types: Those very much Americanized and unionized, whose general sympathies are always with their own wives and daughters who have exactly the same sort of struggles for better wages, hours and conditions, as themselves; and, those, less American, usually foreign born, who still retain the foreign ideas of the necessary subordination of women. To this latter class suffrage is not only offensive but preposterous. This contrast among working people was perfectly clear in Sacramento where the car-shop employes are not very well unionized. If my

analysis is correct, the best hope of the suffragists is in the comfortable, hard-working American middleclass and in the upper organized laboring group.

One other conviction which was produced by the Sacramento situation was confirmed by a later experience of Oakland conditions: The liquor, that is to say the saloon, interests and all their adherents are uniformly and everywhere against equal suffrage. Street speaking, therefore, and mass meetings in the lower streets of Oakland and Sacramento would, in my judgment, be wasted, for the crowd is largely composed of men of the transient, loafing, hard-living class, unmarried and without any sympathies for women. The same effort in the decent working residence districts, I believe, was much more effective.

As to the amount of money necessary to carry on a good campaign it seems to me that the Sacramento experience shows that very little money is necessary if you have time to appeal to the mass of the people, rather than to the wealthy minority, and if you get enough energetic, competent people to give their time to the work. That is, workers and time are far more important to success than large funds. Funds are necessary for supplying plenty of printed matter and for saving the workers' energy.

Mary Roberts Coolidge, Chairman.

Post-Card Day.

Post-Card Day, which we had spoken of from time to time during the summer, actually arrived but five days before California's great day, October 10, 1911. There had seemed to be no time for this piece of work during the full months of the campaign, but when there were but seven days left, on the morning of the 3rd of October, the City Election Day Committee said: "Leave nothing undone that will carry the message to another voter. Arrange for a Post-Card Day."

So a chairman was appointed. She found the stock of post-cards in the College League headquarters low, and the other organizations to whom she sent to ask for coöperation short, both of cards and workers. Delegates were, however, called from the other leagues and stock was taken of all available cards. Fresh supplies were struck off from the plates that we had; ten thousand yellow cards bearing a facsimile of the ballot, so far as it related to equal suffrage, were ordered from the printer; a rubber stamp for smearing the message, of the place on the ballot of our amendment, was bought to add that reminder to our picture cards—five hundred of these had been freshly reproduced by photograph from our "Vote for Women" prize poster, and a thousand of lithographed reproduction, which we could sell, at a slight profit, for one cent each. This was a beginning.

Committeemen were detailed to have broad bands of ribbon printed for the sellers to wear, to buy dozens of bolts of narrow ribbon for tying the cards into five and ten-cent packages, to rubber-stamp thousands of cards, to arrange for having thirty or more girls and young women stationed for card-selling, on the morning of the fifth, from the Ferry Building to Van Ness Avenue, and to escort the shyer venders to the photographer's to have attractive pictures made of them for the papers.

After these preliminaries, permission had to be gained from the Chief of Police which would allow us to place our venders on the streets. This was a mere form, as our tactics had been, in all our work, the opposite of militant and the city authorities had grown steadily more friendly to our wishes. The Chief's only condition in this case was that we furnish him with a list of the localities where we proposed to sell cards, that he might instruct his officers not to molest us.

We had during the campaign received so much courtesy from the various department stores that we did not hesitate to ask that our venders might be stationed at their doors, or have permission to go inside and rest during the day. Several firms suggested that our saleswomen come inside their shops, and offered seats and tables to make the work easier for them.

On October 5th the morning papers showed pictures of several of our workers with "Post-Card Day" printed on a broad yellow ribbon worn like the ribbon of the Legion of Honor, each with a yellow chrysanthemum in her buttonhole, a basketful of cards on one arm and a package held ingratiatingly forth. Our headquarters were gay with a long table piled high with little packages of beribboned postcards, a bookkeeper was recording the number of cards given out to each worker, assigning her stand to each, appointing her relief corp and keeping a record of the money brought in.

Several women went about from one vender to another, carrying new supplies of cards, encouraging the sellers and hearing their accounts of the temper of the crowds towards suffrage. One of the volunteer venders said of the day: "I stood on a street where there is only an ordinary amount of traffic and sold postcards to the amount of five dollars in about three hours. I approached all the people I could reach and assured them we were not working for money but merely desired to get the cards into circulation. I urged those who bought the cards to send them to people in California. Those who bought the cards were, I believe, favorable to the movement, but they probably influenced many friends with the messages they sent.

"It seems to me that the sale of postcards was advantageous. It brought the suffrage question before some people who did not attend meetings. This was accomplished by the opening it gave for a discussion of the question with the purchasers of cards and the re-

quest that we made, particularly of those who said they were opposed to the movement, that they attend a public meeting."

More than fifteen thousand postcards were sold during the day. While they were sold for very little, the money taken in covered the cost of printing, the badges, the ribbon and the flowers. They were the last bits of printing that carried the California women's request for political freedom through the State. It was but one of the many pieces of work that we can look back upon and say that it was worth doing, although we do not know what per cent. of the vote it in any way affected.

In planning a Post-Card Day have plenty of cards; get a good write-up in the papers, with attractive pictures of the venders, as the voter likes a picture in his morning paper of the thing he is certain to see during the day. (In connection with this I want to say that every suffrage organization in a campaign should have an official photographer, an enthusiastic amateur with a camera that works; a hundred times a good picture gets a story in the papers that would otherwise fail of publication, and pictures help the voter to visualize the progress of the campaign.)

Although it was by chance that we had the day so late, we came to see that the last days of the campaign are the best for this sort of public demonstration. Just before the voter goes to the polls it once more brings the reminder of where upon the ballot appears the amendment that gives to the women the vote for which they are asking.

Frank B. Patterson, Chairman.

Oakland Election Day Work.

Eight days before election it was arranged that I should take over the entire arrangements for election day suffrage work in Oakland, at a time when almost every available worker of our league was already preëmpted. Fortunately for me the Suffrage Amendment League ladies who had headquarters across the street came over and offered not merely to coöperate but to put themselves under my direction if I would make a plan for them as well as for the College Equal Suffrage League workers. I accepted the offer and, as it turned out, they gave me far more help than the College League could do in supplying workers. It came about that the College League provided money and printed matter and the Amendment League, which was—most fortunately—composed of old residents of Oakland who had been engaged in temperance and other social and Church work, provided the staff.

We advertised widely in the local papers for women to volunteer to do precinct work on election day; as the women came in we put

them down on the card-file for whatever they were willing to do. It was very difficult to get them to agree to stand on the street and at the end we had only half as many women—about 240—as we had hoped to secure for this duty. Because of the lack of time to go out and drum up more, we simply planted those we had, on the day before election, wherever they preferred, either in their own precincts or elsewhere. As a consequence, our precinct map was full in some places and without poll workers, or perhaps only one or two, in others.

We provided those who stood at the polls with an abundance of yellow circulars of various kinds to hand out to voters as they approached; and cautioned them not to get within the 100-yard line and not to ask for votes. I particularly warned all of them not to speak to any man or even to urge him to take the leaflets, but simply to offer them as they passed toward the booths. If any man stopped and asked questions, they could talk as much as they chose. This restraint on their part brought praise from a good many men and many men stopped to talk.

Seventh street and the adjoining blocks in Oakland is a railway street with several saloons to the block and a very large body of voters. There were fourteen voting booths quite close together, either on or very near Seventh street and many women preferred not to go to such a district. I succeeded, however, in getting two for each booth throughout the day and was careful to pick out women over thirty years of age who had earned their own living or were accustomed to meeting working men, such as teachers, and settlement and charity workers.

It is amusing now to look back upon these elaborate arrangements, for during the whole day all these women were most courteously treated. Grocery men brought out chairs for them to sit upon; bakers brought out cakes and pies for them to eat; election booth officials—who were all saloon appointees and uniformly opposed to suffrage—invited them into booths to see how it was done and to discuss suffrage.

One particular example of the general courtesy may be quoted. Earlier in the week a young colored woman came to offer the services of the Colored Women's Suffrage League on election day. I told her to pick out the places where there were the largest groups of colored people (there is no exclusively colored ward in Oakland), and I would take special pains to have my husband protect them. She said quite calmly that they could take care of themselves and she did not think they would have any trouble. They undertook the responsibility for two precincts, furnished relays of women all day, and had no trouble whatever. Men stopped and asked questions and treated them respectfully.

Through the difficulties caused by the shortness of time the Oakland experience was very unsatisfactory but even so I do not think that

it was work thrown away for it accomplished several definite things; the men of Oakland were thoroughly convinced that a large number of respectable, home-keeping women wanted to vote and wanted it enough to make personal sacrifices for it: they realized that women do not stand on the street twelve hours a day for fun and that suffrage was no longer a laughing matter. If we had been comeplled to make another campaign, the men would have helped us more and taken us more seriously.

But the best result of all was the effect upon women themselves: they acquired courage for things of which they had always been afraid before and a certain self-respect from having risked something for a cause they believed in. The effect has been evident since in the energy and sense with which they have taken up civic reforms in their own localities and the seriousness with which they have tried to prepare themselves to use the ballot intelligently.

Moreover, women had been told and had generally believed that they could not work together—do team work—and have proved for themselves quite the contrary. Nothing was more conspicuous in the places where I worked than the astonishing unanimity of the women workers of all classes; the way in which they submerged instantly and almost without discussion their church and social lines and their natural differences of opinion, in the larger issue. The common interest of a great cause overcame all petty social differences and in the months since suffrage was won, women of all ranks have shown themselves everywhere capable of coöperating in public matters.

Out of my whole experience of six weeks in three different places and under varied circumstances, I find a sort of residuum of clearly defined opinions: it seems to me a waste of time to try to make suffrage fashionable, i. e., to get exclusive society people to take it up in the hope that plain people will be impressed and adopt it. The suffrage cause was won in California in the country districts by plain, mostly middle-aged domestic women and country school teachers, with the help of a few highly trained, eloquent, and self-devoted public speakers sent in from outside. Country men, in the West, respect a woman who works and stands by her husband's side in the midst of some hardship; and the women speakers who came to us and who were developed on the ground were, for the most part, women who had earned their living and knew how to appeal to men's sense of justice. It is highly significant that the same districts voted for suffrage that had two years earlier vote the progressive ticket. In any similar campaign I should strongly urge that the greater part of the effort be spent in the smaller towns and country districts among the intelligent working people. After all, each man has only one vote and it is far easier to convert such men to suffrage than it is to bring in the indifferent business men, the saloon men and their hangers on, the transients in a city or the wealthier and notoriously conservative.

Mary Roberts Coolidge, Chairman.

Report on Woman Suffrage Election Day Work.

The contaminating effect of polling-places upon women, as described by anti-suffrage orators, must have touched the imaginations even of some stanch suffragists. To stand a hundred feet from one of these unholy, and peculiarly masculine places; to hand leaflets to voters indicating the position upon the ballot of a certain amendment, to enter, as official watchers, the polling places themselves and in tallying the count to sit there until midnight with creatures of the same dire sex as our husbands and fathers—this surely was a feat for a few brave spirits! But no sooner had we grasped the idea that there were women who could do this thing than we were told by political experts, who had done practical work upon reform legislation, that in no other way can the proponents of legislation, which is being fought by strong interests, guard against the chance of being "counted out" by fraud. The moral effect of standing quietly in our places and showing what types of women were really deeply concerned in this movement was another important phase of the election day demonstration; but the chief and urgent matter was to guard the fruits of our long struggle, and to do this not a few but at least a thousand San Francisco women must stand near the polls, and watch the count.

The group to whom this project was first unfolded was the board of directors of the College Equal Suffrage League, women who had, happily, learned to apply, without words or theory, as a mere rule of thumb, the idea which Lord Nelson said had shaped his spirit for its destiny, that, "the measure of a man's greatness is his ability to take responsibility."

Now that we have had one year of practical experience, in a State where women vote, a year that has made us familiar with the neat little tents and wooden booths where women go—many of them with their husbands—and put a piece of folded paper in a harmless ash-can, lying on a bench, it is almost impossible to realize how this Election Day program once sounded.

We do know that it is a big, tedious job to get a thousand trustworthy women to volunteer to stand on the street, on a certain day, from six in the morning until six at night, and then go into the booth at night and tally the count on an amendment. We know that it requires good management to get the women to want to make the promise—especially this first time—and that it is dull, card-cataloguing work, requiring disciplined patience, to get the names, addresses and locations of the volunteers straightened out, by untrained and unpaid workers. The record shows that, in the end, it was not possible to distribute the volunteers evenly in the various parts of the city, but to get them together and apportion their work was something to accomplish in less than a full month.

All the suffrage associations saw that this task was one that re-

quired a full coöperation. Time would be consumed in working out a feasible coöperative plan, but by that time we all knew that this is the inevitable price of coöperation. About four weeks before election day two representatives from each of the nine suffrage associations of the city met and appointed Miss Gail Laughlin, of Colorado, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Election Day Committee.

This Committee of nineteen acted until the end of the campaign as an executive board, to formulate and carry out plans for Election Day, without referring back to their mother organizations for authority to act.

Miss Laughlin had, as a permanent office force to work out plans with her, Miss Miriam Michelson and Dr. Mary Sperry. Miss Schlingheyde, Mrs. Chapin and Miss Sullivan carried much of the work, with a varying group of volunteers.

A big mass meeting was immediately called to enlist volunteers, at the Golden Gate Commandery Hall. Short appeals for workers were made by each representative of the nine suffrage societies. Cards were distributed, to be filled in with name, address and precinct number of the worker. On the cards several questions were asked. Would the volunteer work all or part of the day? Would she act as watcher of the count at night? Would she supply a place of rest with food for workers on Election Day? Would she give the use of an automobile on October 10th?

To this appeal, and to those made later through the newspapers, which printed coupons making the same call for volunteers and asking the same questions, there finally came this response:

*Total number of workers	1066
Number of men volunteers	118
Number of men and women as watchers	329
Number working all day	492
Number working part of day	396
Number offering food and a resting-place	78
Number offering use of automobiles	4

As those volunteering for the whole day were often watchers also, the total number of workers is less than the sum of those offering to do especial things.

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* The figures for this table were compiled from the card indexes, by the kindness of Miss Cerf and Miss Gassaway.
It was impossible to make the figures absolutely correct, as the sets of record cards for two of the eighteen city districts are missing. Figures for the missing districts, the 37th and the 40th, are therefore computed, by the editor, from the adjacent 39th district. Owing to the absence of the Chairman of the Woman Suffrage City Election Committee from this State, the facts for this report have had to be recovered from a dozen different sources. The report would have been impossible to reconstruct, from the scattered records, but for the work of Miss Schlingheyde and Mrs. Orlow Black.

The money contributed by the coöperating Associations for the Woman Suffrage City Election Committee was:

California Equal Suffrage Association	$300.00
Susan B. Anthony Club	300.00
The College Equal Suffrage League	300.00
Woman Suffrage Party	239.75
The Clubwomen's Franchise League	150.00
Equal Suffrage League	85.00
Wage Earners' League	30.00
Glen Park Club	5.00
Total	$1409.75

About $75.00 was contributed in small sums by individuals.

A rather interesting item in this list is the $30.00, entered as from the Wage Earners' League. This sum was the result of an impromptu auction of three little hand-made articles sent by a young country girl, as all that she could give.

A generous contribution of their headquarters in the Lick Building was made by the Woman Suffrage Party, and all the work of the committee was transacted from these rooms. Maps of each city district hung on the walls of the headquarters and a shifting corps of people worked, day after day, locating volunteers who had sent in an address, giving no clue to their precinct or district.

Two complete sets of card indexes were made from the cards and from the coupons, the first a name, and the second a district index. By the district index it was possible to find how many volunteers there were in a certain district. Separate files were made of those who would open their homes as places of rest and refreshment to the street workers.

There was, also, an index of "Free Lances." These were volunteers who—in the cause of domestic peace—preferred to work outside of their home precincts, and others who wished to be so classified that they might be sent, at the last moment, where they were most needed.

There were not enough automobiles offered to make an index of them necessary.

The automobiles that were lent were to be used to take food to those who could not leave their posts and to carry lame and sick suffragists to the polls to vote. An automobile bill for over two hundred and eighty dollars shows the additional cost of machines hired for district captains, to supply leaflets and cards to workers all over the city, and to keep the plan of the day's work co-ordinated.

For each district Miss Laughlin appointed a captain who had a list of all the volunteers in her district, from these the district captain appointed her own precinct captains. Difficulties of any sort

were to be reported by the worker to her precinct captain and, if too complicated for her solution, the precinct captain was to report to her ranking officer, and so on to the Chairman, Miss Laughlin, at headquarters. As each district captain was supplied with an automobile, "trouble" could reach headquarters promptly. This was arranged to give workers backing, in case of disagreeable complications near the polls, in registering a "challenge" of the count, or if there was any gross personal rudeness. The actual use made of them was in supplying materials used in such different quantities in different thoroughfares, and in conveying that sense of watchful purpose which is never, perhaps, entirely wasted.

The day before election Miss Laughlin called together all her district captains and instructed them what in various emergencies would be their duties, and their legal rights.

On Election Day, workers reported for duty at six o'clock in the morning, at the stations assigned them. Each was given her silk badge and her scarlet ticket of "official watcher of the count," gotten from the San Francisco Election Day Commissioners. The free lances reported to Miss Laughlin at five forty-five and were distributed at that time, and redistributed, when need arose, during the day, as messages, by telephone or messenger, came from district captains.

Where it was possible two women were put near each booth. In some cases they spoke to the voter, asking a favorable consideration of the suffrage amendment; but the more common, and perhaps the better plan, was silently to hand the voter one of the leaflets printed in bold type with a few short, crisp suffrage arguments; then if the voter lingered to discuss the issue of his own accord to enter frankly with him into the matter. There were precincts, all through the city, where a continuous all-day discussion on woman suffrage went forward without the worker once starting the talk. Her readiness to answer questions or meet a challenge made it easy for men who were interested to find "what the women want." One worker was told, by an Italian bootblack, beside whose stall she had stood all day:

"Nicee talka, getta votee."

He was the same man who in the morning had said, in firm remonstrance, "Ladee no-no vota! Ladee mind kidda"! when he hastily retreated, as one who had hazarded much. Half an hour later he returned, the light of conquering logic in his eye, "Ladee maka cakee," with a bold sweep, sketching the other great half-circle of woman's sphere.

After twelve hours of standing and talking in the dust of the street, many of the workers went into the booths and kept tally of the count until midnight. Grave courtesy to the election officials and reserve of manner brought from them, even the less kindly clerks, a

tolerant response. Here, and throughout the day, great care was taken to remain well within our legal privilege.

All the world knows how that night our defeat in San Francisco was first interpreted as the defeat of the Eighth Amendment in California. To many who had never faced the thought of loss, who had believed that the powers of good were with them, the news came as a fearful, grinding shock. Strange faces at midnight, pallid, flushed and blotched faces, gazed across the Election Day headquarters at each other.

"We must go right back to work," one woman said hoarsely, staring down at the floor, as though the eight months of passionate effort lay wasted before her.

It was agreed that we should begin again tomorrow.

With dawn the Election Committee went sharply to work sending telegrams to suffragists in all the doubtful towns and counties, warning them imperatively to "watch the count." From our Country Press Chairman names and addresses of entirely trustworthy people, in each of the counties, was of the greatest service, in establishing quick connections. A record of ninety-four dollars spent for telegrams and telephones, during this day and the next, represents a part of that expense.

Wherever we had rumors of dishonesty in election officials we dispatched our workers from San Francisco, even on a chance, if we could not get local watchers at once.

The memorandum for money paid to hired watchers of the canvass, throughout Northern California, shows about $250 spent in this way, and yet a great part of the work was done by volunteers without payment. For instance, in San Francisco the vaults in which the ballots were deposited were watched continuously for forty-eight hours by a young man who had volunteered for the service and who afterwards very reluctantly took a small sum of money for his time. In Oakland we hired Pinkerton men to watch.

These were some of the methods that the exigencies of the case developed in San Francisco. In New York or any city where such a group as the Woman's Suffrage Party has perfected an elaborate organization by districts these methods might seem clumsy and unnecessary. Some sort of watching is, however, necessary and is recommended by all politicians, when they have anything at stake. When one has seen how easy it is to switch "Yes" or a "No" on the tally sheet, it is not strange that such things happen in hostile camps.

In looking back over the whole piece of Election Day work and considering the fourteen hundred dollars expended upon it it is hard to say exactly how much was absolutely accomplished; what influence was exerted upon public opinion by the appearance of thousands of homekeeping women near the polls to say by their presence how much

the amendment meant to them; what was accomplished by organized watchfulness throughout the counties and towns of the State—because what was worked out in San Francisco was paralleled in Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda and many of the smaller towns. But in a State which won, as ours did, by 3587 votes, no intelligent effort, no precautions, nothing that touched the consciences and sympathies of the voters could have been spared. Our margin was too small. Every piece of honest work seemed, itself, to hold the tottering scale barely steady to the side of justice. *Louise Herrick Wall.*

REPORT OF AUTOMOBILE CAMPAIGN FOR SAN FRANCISCO.

The automobile street-speaking campaign in San Francisco began about six weeks before the election. In a short, sharp campaign, like ours, in which the work had not been standardized before hand, board resolutions and action were simultaneous. The directors endorsed the idea of street speaking one morning—that every night the first crew went forth in a motor flaunting "Votes for Women" banners.

We had no perforated pattern of how the thing should be done. We knew that the New York suffragists were carrying off street speaking with success, and we felt that the time had come for us to reach the man on the street who had not been caught up in the steady stream of people flowing into our great public meetings.

So we went forth. That first night we caught the wind of success and thereafter it sang in our banners. There were six of us and we had had just one preliminary experience in street speaking in a country town. That one experience helped us not to feel so keenly the tug of squaring up right with the city crowds; and the crowds, likewise, were over the first shock of a feminist campaign. They had read about us, day after day, in the newspapers; they could not miss the headlines even if they skipped the stories and they knew the faces of our leaders, however unconcernedly they glanced at them in the newspapers.

I believe that we began street speaking at the right moment. The psychology of a city must determine that. Instinctively those of us who had the "feel" of San Francisco in our blood recognized the moment. The strength and importance of the campaign was established; the city was warmed up to the idea, and fully appreciated that all types were represented in the movement, and it gave the man on the street a sense of his own importance that such women as these should leave their accustomed places to come right out on the street to talk to him.

After that first night we had two machines and sometimes three out every night. We did not depend on volunteer motors but with the fearlessness that such an enterprise as a six months' campaign demands hired cars whenever necessary. Noon meetings in the factory districts were held every day, but to my mind the two or three day-time meetings held in the other more conservative business parts of town demonstrated their extreme hazard. There was an unmistakable sense of protest at women blocking the streets at the busy hours of the day, and these protestants were the types that could be convinced only by sustained arguments, which the transient mood of the streets and the disturbance of the day-time traffic made impossible. They were the men that could be converted at indoor meetings by the brilliant orators that it was our good fortune to secure during the campaign.

These same orators were not always most effective on the streets. "I appeal to you as a mother, a grandmother, as a garment worker, a school teacher, a trained nurse, a woman who used to vote in another State, a physician or a settlement worker, as the case might be," these were the appeals that kindled most interest in the crowds. The women who lived right here, who could lay on the argument in bright, strong washes of personal color, these were the most effective street speakers. Always we found that the street crowds enjoyed the novelty of women speakers more than the best known men orators. Because street speaking is more or less pictorial rather than oratorical we endeavored to present effective and constrasting pictures—youth and age, the wage earner and the home woman, but never the eccentric woman against this unconventional background! The first feeling that should come to the crowd is that in spite of the fact that she is standing up there in that automobile she is just the sort of woman any man might be proud to call mother or wife or sister.

The method of collecting the crowd was the simple one of having a boy bugler give a call or two. Occasionally we followed this with a song. Since the recent campaigns, the technique and the value of these meetings is almost as fixed as mathematics. We made our rules as we went along. It is an axiom that successful street meetings are best insured by having a chairman just as one would in a hall, someone who presents the speakers, limits their time, and ties all the speeches together. We rarely stayed more than an hour at any stand always leaving the crowd instead of allowing it to leave us!

The climax of our street speaking came the night before election and was planned that morning on the spur of the illuminating moment when we learned that Mme. Nordica had just arrived in the city. With the true spirit of the suffragist she responded to the idea of lending the thrill of her voice to the last appeal for votes, and in a few crowded hours the details were arranged for a demonstration at a down-town public square. On the four sides of the park automobiles were stationed and by seven o'clock the streets were jammed, while the band and the speakers in these machines kept the crowd interested until Madame Nordica appeared at about nine. Dr. Charles F. Aked presented her and the crowd which surged around her machine caught its breath at her beautiful, gracious presence, and listened with strained attention to her little suffrage speech. Then they clamored for a song, and when she lifted her voice in the "Star Spangled Banner" everyone joined in the chorus.

The editor of an unfriendly paper came along at about one in the morning. The crowd was still rotating between the automobiles, listening to the star speakers of the campaign. The editor cast his appraising eye over the scene. "You win," he said, and I have always felt that that demonstration pied the "Vote No" which we had feared would appear in that paper in black-face type at the last moment.

Ernestine Black, Chairman.

INFORMAL REPORT ON FINANCES. HOW MONEY WAS RAISED WITHOUT A FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The College Equal Suffrage League, during its short, active and varied campaign in California, collected and disbursed over $10,000. About one-fifth of this amount came from generous Eastern friends, and the other four-fifths was raised in California, without the help of a Committee on Finance, for although the president made unremitting efforts to find a suitable chairman for such a committee, it was without success. This work devolved, in an informal way, upon the president, the directors, committee chairmen and other working members of the League.

While it might not be safe to try to finance a big campaign without a Finance Committee in most communities, here we had, in spite of the defect, a success that was gratifying both in the amount and in the spirit of the contributions. Yet the task of collecting funds was never made of primary importance, but was always subordinated to the intensely absorbing work of propaganda, and was engaged in only at intervals when the need of funds pressed too closely to be ignored.

The most money, probably, was raised by chairmen and members of committees through the presentation of their specific needs, such appeals being made at public meetings, at members' meetings, to private acquaintances, and to persons who might, presumably, be interested in the cause. The chairman of the committee would draw up a careful, business-like plan of the work she had been appointed to undertake; an estimate of the money needed; a statement of the funds already at hand, if such there were; and she would have her co-workers selected and within call to begin action. Standing thus ready before the field to be plowed, almost invariably she was supplied with the plow.

Through the chairman and her helpers, contributors had a vital connection with the particular piece of work they were backing financially—billboard advertising, circularization of teachers, distribution of "Votes for Women" buttons, street automobile campaigning, whatever it might be. If, as the work proceeded, it grew beyond the chairman's first expectations, a business report of the work already accomplished, and an honest, enthusiastic forecast of its usefulness, elicited further funds.

This experience convinced us that the woman who gave her time, her abilities, her money, her self, to a good, definite piece of work, was best able, through the first-hand expression of her need, to ask for contributions. We also learned that no enterprise need seem too big or too expensive to undertake, for, if its merits were logically set forth, and if it were entered into with courage and devotion, it was sure to win financial support.

With the exception of a few large gifts from generous benefactors of equal suffrage, a considerable proportion of the funds came directly, in moderate sums, from the self-imposed taxation of the working mem-

bers of the League, who, as the need of money became apparent and as their devotion heightened, pledged weekly or monthly sums, often far exceeding what they could really afford. To become a life member of the League became a jest, one became a life member so many times over.

As a witness of these contributions, a big yellow placard was hung on the wall of our headquarters, containing the names and monthly pledges of the members. This served as a delicate and effective suggestion to others to request that their names also be placarded as monthly contributors.

In August the activities of the League had outgrown all our ordinary sources of income, and a mass meeting was held at the Scottish Rite Hall, where, after some stirring speeches on the work still needing to be done and on the significance, not only to ourselves but to other States, of winning equal suffrage in California, an impassioned appeal for more funds was made and $2000 were raised from the floor, $1000 of which came from a woman who for years had been expending herself and her money in this cause. It was money given in this spirit, in large and in small amounts, that paved our path to ultimate victory.

At most of our public meetings, which were intended, primarily, to be educational, and to win converts to suffrage and new workers, no special request for money was made, but baskets were passed round for voluntary contributions. At a few of the largest and most interesting meetings, however, especially during the last three months of the campaign, when big sums of money had to be raised in brief time, short, breezy appeals for help from the general public were made. These were always preceded by a frank statement and a careful outline of the work already in progress.

No financial statement of the campaign would be complete without mentioning the nameless, off-hand gifts to the work made by the members of the League in practical ways. Postage, telegrams, carfare, materials, expressage, automobile service—these were some of the forms this generosity took, which made a saving of thousands of dollars to the League. Personal funds, never entered in any account, were freely spent for the more successful carrying out of plans. One friend gave the use of her touring car, including its repairs and upkeep, for the country work during the last few months of the campaign. Other friends put their cars at the service of the League for doing hundreds of errands in San Francisco. On Election Day automobiles and chauffeurs were lent in such generous numbers as would more than have exhausted our treasury had we been obliged to pay for them. All these gifts were gladly laid, without thought of thanks, upon the altar of our common cause.

That this common cause of women was won in California was partly due, we like to believe, to the efforts of the College Equal Suffrage League and its friends; and their work was made possible

only through these recorded and unrecorded gifts of money. That is why our treasurer's report is to us a glorified human document, recounting, in columns of gold and silver, the self-sacrifices, the devotion, and the generosity of the women of California. Its message to other campaign States is this: Honest, efficient work, enthusiastic effort, and unfaltering courage make the richest source of revenue. *Fannie Williams McLean.*

TREASURER'S REPORT.

May, 1911, to January, 1912.

	Received.	Paid Out.
On hand May 5th	$ 491.01	
Life membership (25)	250.00	
New membership (333)	333.00	
Annual dues (43)	43.00	
Monthly assessments (four months)	479.00	
Contributions (local)	4,039.46	
Contributions (Eastern)	2,075.00	
Collections at public meetings	1,231.83	
Rental of Halls (San Francisco and bay cities)		$ 1,111.75
Literature	210.31	1,057.61
Country campaign work	343.12	567.14
Postage for circularizing (four city districts, teachers of the State, Contra Costa county, clubs, etc.)	102.00	704.78
Automobiles for speakers (one month)		387.80
Advertising public meetings (dodgers, wagons, etc.)		1,403.00
Advertising in street cars (contributions)	324.11	237.30
Advertising on bill boards		589.50
Advertising by electric signs		72.50
Advertising by signs on bay		31.00
Advertising by signs in baseball grounds		55.00
Advertising in foreign newspapers		174.00
Decorative advertising (posters, buttons, postals, pennants, flags, etc.) contributions	529.95	975.85
Central Campaign Committee		350.00
Election Day Committee		300.00
Eastern organizer and speaker	65.00	200.00
Delegate to National Convention		147.00
Telegrams, expressage and unclassifiable items.		645.76
San Francisco Headquarters.		
Subscribed (eleven contributors)	446.31	
Stenographers (four months)		488.85
Typewriter rental		22.25
Telephone	6.00	168.21
Rent		350.00
Office expenses		199.84
Market-street headquarters (one week prior to election)		157.45
Oakland headquarters (ten days prior to election) contributed	42.52	453.51
Balance on hand January 1st		178.51
	$11,029.62	$11,029.62

Anna E. Rude, Treasurer.

APPENDIX.

SUGGESTED PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.

President, Vice-President and Board of Directors.

State Press Work.

Dramatics.—Plays—Tableaux—Pageants—Moving Pictures.

Headquarters.—Clerks—Office Supplies—Placing Workers—Visitors.

Finance.—Collection Meetings.

Membership.

Literature and Printing.—Selecting Material—Printer's Rates—Local Leaflets.

Circularizing.—Country and City.

Publicity.—City Press Work—Street-Car Adv.—Billboard Adv.—Post Card Day.

Organization.—Forming Clubs—New Club Nurture.

Central Campaign.—Scheduling Speakers.

Supplying Speakers.—Speakers for Occasions.

Design.—Decorated Stationery and Post Cards—Prize Poster—Cartoons—Window Display.

Public Meetings.—Hall Meetings—Street Meetings—Fraternal Groups—Noon Hour Meetings.

The forms appended here cost us time to make, because in the pressure of work, inseparable from a campaign, the mood for condensed, effective and crisp phrasing does not readily visit tired committees. The wording of some of the advertisements was done with the help of an advertising expert, but most of them were struck out at the moment to express instant needs, and in modified forms they may be serviceable again.

Bits of argument from California speakers have been included, in short extracts, as they are a part of the record of the individual contribution made by California to this subject, and they reflect something of the spirit of the campaign. A small part of this material has been published by the *Woman's Journal,* but as it belongs here it has been gathered into this volume.

The following form was used on a folded post card (5½x9½ inches) very early in the active campaign. The real purpose of the "Symposium By League Members" was primarily to try out speakers for future use in campaign work.

To economize space names are omitted on committee lists:

College Equal Suffrage League.

318 Union Square Building
350 Post Street—Phone —.

The Committee on Headquarters announce the following meetings which have been arranged for Friday afternoons at 3:30, at Headquarters, for the members of the League and their friends:

April 21—"The Special Election and the Constitutional Amendments."

April 28—Symposium by League Members, "Why I Believe in Equal Suffrage."

May 5—"The Legal Status of Women in California."

May 19—"The Relation of the Ballot to Municipal Reform."

All meetings at Headquarters will be followed by reports of Committees and discussions of work and plans for future activities.

The Headquarters are open daily from 10 a. m. to 5 p. m., and all members are urged to come in often, to bring in their friends, and to join some one of the Committees already formed, or in process of forming, and to take some part in the activities of the League.

This is a big cause and we need your help.

Committee on Headquarters.

Entertainment Committee	Newspapers
Committee on Dramatics	Committee on Moving Picture Exhibits.
Membership Committee	Committee on Window Exhibits
Press Committee	Committee on Public Meetings

Committee on Interviews.

Suffrage rally meetings will be held every Tuesday afternoon at 2:30 p. m., at the Savoy Theater, by courtesy of the management, to which the public are invited.

The College Equal Suffrage League has charge of the meetings at the Savoy Theater on

May 2nd, at which the play "How the Vote Was Won" will be given by the Dramatic Committee.

June 20th, of which the program will be announced later.

All members of the League are urged to make these meetings generally known in order that the audiences may be large.

Folded Post Cards:

There remain but five months before the Suffrage Amendment is submitted to the voters of California.

This means that we are face to face with a "whirlwind campaign." We must reach all the voters within our boundaries to make California the sixth suffrage State.

A demand for concentrated work and immediate funds is therefore vital.

Do you realize that for each one of you, loyal members of the College League, who remains inactive in this short campaign, some other member is forced to take up the extra burden, make the extra sacrifice? A little sacrifice from each member is no burden on any one. Are you doing your share?

Here is your chance. Choose now, to-day, what work you will do. These are our needs. On which of these will you concentrate for the next five months?

We Need You.

1. Will you address envelopes? There are 10,000 at headquarters to be addressed at once.
2. Will you speak publicly?
3. Will you furnish an automobile for special occasions?
4. Will you do precinct organizing?
5. Will you get members and contributors?
6. Will you organize your church for suffrage?
7. Will you write to your class members?
8. Will you write for newspapers?
9. Will you serve on one of our sixteen committees?
10. Will you make yourself regularly responsible for the attendance of ten people at the Tuesday afternoon meetings at the Central Theater? The next one is May 23d.
11. Will you contribute your utmost in money at once for all of these activities?

Funds must be raised immediately for literature, for speakers, for renting public halls, for traveling expenses. The burden must be divided among us all. What will you do?

Name.....

Address.....

Precinct.....

Assembly District.....

Place an X opposite number indicating what work you will do.

1. Address envelopes.
2. Public speaking.
3. Automobile.
4. Precinct organizing.
5. Members and contributors.
6. Organize churches.
7. Class letters.
8. Newspapers.
9. Committee work.
10. Meetings at Central Theater.
11. I will contribute $.....

The wording used on colored, foreign post cards, showing scenes in California in which Chinese voters were engaged. The inscription was printed in Chinese and in English, as below:

"Of the native-born Chinaman, who has the right to vote, we ask favorable consideration of the amendment framed to give women the same right. The amendment is to be voted upon Oct. 10th, 1911.

College Equal Suffrage League."

Italian and Spanish cards bore much the same form of words. As we had the printing done on cards already made the cost was less than $2.00 a hundred.

A fourth sort of colored card showed a harvesting scene in California in which women appeared in the fields, and read:

"Of the women farmers, who have developed the soil of California, we ask co-operation in gaining the Vote for Women in California.

"The amendment is to be voted upon October 10th, 1911.

"College Equal Suffrage League, 350 Post Street, San Francisco."

Form used on post cards:

The College Equal Suffrage League announces two meetings:

(Names of speakers, dates and places follow.)

Help spread the good news. Let every member pledge herself to get ten new people to these meetings. The cause deserves and demands it, for we find this is the best way to arouse enthusiasm and to create an intelligent interest in winning "Votes for Women."

Do you know about the prize poster contest?

Do you know about our literature?

Do you know about the proposed window display?

Do you know about the precinct work in your district?

Come to headquarters and find out about these and other enterprises, and bring your friends with you.

THE COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

announces a luncheon for members and guests at Hotel Shattuck, Shattuck and Allston Sts., Berkeley, Saturday, July 22nd, at 12:30 p. m. $1.00 per plate.

"How the School Teacher of Chicago was Won to Suffrage."

Miss Margaret Haley

and addresses by other prominent educators of the N. E. A.

The luncheon number is limited to 225. Reservations will be made in the order in which they are received by Miss Blanche Morse, 2033 Bancroft Way, and should be accompanied by money or check.

Visit our Headquarters. Enlist in the Work. Bring in Members and Contributors. Help in Winning a Victory October 10th Worthy of the Cause.

Members of the College Equal Suffrage League—Attention!

YOUR CAUSE NEEDS YOU

Come to the Members' Meeting, **Saturday, August 19th,** at 2:30 p. m., at Scottish Rite Assembly Hall, 1270 Sutter Street, between Polk Street and Van Ness Ave.

We can win on October 10th only through the efforts of everyone who believes in our principle.

There is work for YOU! Come, choose your part.

Remember, the progress of suffrage in the U. S. depends on California's success.

The women of New York are having a self-denial week, August 15-23, to help the cause in California. Are we meeting them half way?

Bring along new members, and let's get together for our final plans.

Miss Gail Laughlin will speak on "What's to be Done?" and there will be reports on new work.

The $1.00 a month assessment requested by the Directors is now payable to Treasurer.

LEARN THE TRUTH ABOUT

EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES

From Gail Laughlin and Nat Friend

And Men from New Zealand and Australia

Friday Evening, Sept. 29—Scottish Rite Hall

Van Ness Avenue and Sutter St.

Auspices College Equal Suffrage League

Public Invited. Admission Free. Come and Bring Your Friends

Return post card sent out by Election Day Committee:

IMPORTANT OCTOBER 10th.

San Francisco, Sept. 25th, 1911.

To carry woman suffrage on October 10th there must be women workers at every polling place. Every voter must be asked verbally or by printed slip to vote for our amendment.

There must be men and women to watch the count of votes in each precinct.

What will YOU do to help win?

October 10th is the crucial moment. Stand by now as never before.

Please answer by return mail on attached card.

GAIL LAUGHLIN, Chairman Election Day Commitee.

Form of post card used by Oakland Election Day Committee:

You have been appointed Captain of 3rd precinct, first ward, for election day. Please let nothing prevent you from serving. Workers will be assigned to you and rest rooms provided on that day.

Poll at 7th and Willow Sts.

Success Depends on Every Woman Doing Her Duty.

Call without fail at headquarters College Equal Suffrage League, 2 Telegraph Ave., to receive directions and circulars, Monday, October 9th, from nine to twelve.

Mary Roberts Coolidge,
College Equal Suffrage League.
Agnes Ray,
Suffrage Amendment League.

Card used for Final Mass Meeting:

EQUAL SUFFRAGE

at a

PEOPLE'S MASS MEETING!

Thursday Night, October 5th, 8 o'Clock

DREAMLAND RINK—Steiner Street, Near Sutter

Catherine Waugh McCullough, Vice-President American Women's Suffrage Association; Helen Todd, Illinois Factory Inspector; Stitt Wilson, Rabbi Martin Meyer, Gail Laughlin, Chas. F. Aked, John I. Nolan and other Distinguished Speakers.

Auspices Suffrage Organizations of S. F.

Public Invited. Admission Free.

"Look Into It" Before October 10th.

The leaflet distributed by League members for Pankhurst lecture:

Would You Go to Jail for Principle?
Americans Don't Have To!
MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST did it in England
Hear Her on
"VOTES FOR WOMEN"
AT IDORA PARK THEATER
Saturday Evening, March 11th, at 8 o'Clock

Good Citizenship a True Democracy.

A leaflet written for California Campaign:

To the Voter of California:

Have you ever thought why your Mother, Wife, Sister and Daughter are not allowed to vote?

One Hundred and Twenty-five Years Ago, when our Constitution was made, women paid no taxes, married women could hold no property, girls could not go to public grammar schools, high schools, or colleges. Women could enter no trades or professions except cooking and sewing.

NOW, women pay taxes, accumulate and manage their own property. Girls graduate from grammar schools and high schools, while all State Universities and many endowed colleges are open to them.

Six million women are daily workers in the industrial pursuits, and no profession is closed to women.

The Status of Women Has Completely Changed.

The time has come to secure for these women, your fellow workers in the home, the city, and the State, **Political Freedom.**

Do Your Share by Voting for the Amendment for Equal Suffrage October 10th.

Registration closes August 26th.
REGISTER NOW.

(Other side of same leaflet.)

WOMEN HAVE FULL SUFFRAGE
in Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Finland, Isle of Man, Tasmania.
WOMEN HAVE MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE
In England, Scotland, Wales, Iceland, Canada, Natal (South Africa), Denmark, Sweden.
In the United States
WOMEN VOTE IN TWENTY-EIGHT STATES
On Municipal and School Affairs
Women Vote on Equal Terms With Men in
Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, Washington
WHY NOT IN CALIFORNIA?

Leaflet used near polls on Election Day:

JUSTICE TO CALIFORNIA WOMEN

WOMEN VOTE on some questions in Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Kentucky and in 26 other States.

WOMEN VOTE equally with men in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho and Washington.

WHY NOT IN CALIFORNIA?

Woman Suffrage Amendment has 4th place on the ballot.

MARK YOUR BALLOT THIS WAY:

4—Senate Constitutional Amendment, No. 8, relating to the rights of suffrage	YES | X
	NO |

GIVE YOUR GIRL THE SAME CHANCE AS YOUR BOY

This leaflet, modified from ours, was used with effect in the Oregon campaign:

WOMEN PAY TAXES!!
WOMEN OBEY THE LAWS!

Women and Children suffer from dirty streets, impure milk, adulterated food, bad sanitary conditions, smoke-laden air, underpaid labor.

Women clean the homes: Let them help clean the city.
Vote 300 X "Yes" Amendment No. 1, Nov. 5, 1912.
It will give the women a Square Deal.
It will give your girl the same chance as your boy.
Votes for Women.
College Equal Suffrage League, 406 Selling Bldg.

Why the Teacher Should Be a Suffragist.

Condensed from leaflet written for California Campaign:

Out of one's own life-work comes always the warmest and most vital argument. As a teacher, I could always win attention during the suffrage campaign by the following presentation of facts. In California there were some 12,000 teachers, 85% of whom were women. We were instructed to train citizens, and yet we had not that live experience of citizenship that comes from having the ballot. We were held responsible for 85% of the product of the schools, and yet we had no control, for lack of a vote, over the conditions under which we worked. We were training girls, as well as boys, to be citizens, and yet the State would afterwards falsify their whole education by refusing them the most significant sign of citizenship, the right to vote. We were teaching our pupils the great truths of democracy—that the State includes all its social forces, that a true system of representation, therefore, must express the will of

all these; that the aim of the State, and the very reason of its existence, was the development, activity and happiness of all its social forces—and yet the State was belying these truths by neglecting to give its women representation. We were teaching our pupils that the flag of America belonged to their foremothers as well as to their forefathers, for the blood of their mothers was in its red stripes, the purity of their patriotism in its white stripes, and the hopes and aspirations of their pioneer spirit in its stars; and yet we could not satisfactorily explain to them why the States over which that common flag waved were not as free to their mothers as to their fathers.—Fannie W. McLean.

Condensed from leaflet to **"Farmers and Fruit Growers,"** written for California Campaign:

In the War of American Independence, it was the "embattled farmers" at Concord Bridge that made the first stand and fired the first shot against Taxation without Representation. **That Battle Is Not Yet Fully Won.** There is still one class of American citizens that is taxed without any voice of their own, and governed by officials they have had no part in choosing and laws they have had no part in making. Your own mother, your wife and sister are of that class.

Is it not time to end this inequality before the law, and to be true at last to American principles?

No One knows better than the farmer how a wife stands side by side with her husband and helps him to earn and to carry on his farm. If he dies, he leaves it without fear in her hands. But he leaves it thenceforth **Unprotected by a Freeman's Vote.** No assessor, no supervisor, no legislator need fear that the owner of this farm can call him to account at the polls for any injustice or neglect of this woman's interests. Her name on any petition will count little as against the names of voters, or the pull of some one with votes behind him.

Are you willing to deny your widowed neighbor the protection you think so important to yourself?

Can any woman, for that matter, married or single, have her just say in matters that concern her, without a vote? Suppose your schoolmistress thinks Brown should go to the legislature because he is zealous about safe sanitary schoolhouses, and her brother thinks Jones should go, because he is pledged to Robinson for the United States Senate. Have not both equal right to their opinions, and equal right to have them taken into account in deciding whether Brown or Jones should go? The present way is to take it for granted beforehand that the sister will always be wrong, and the brother always right, so that we count his judgment only, and refuse to listen to hers.

Can you see any just way except to let every sane grown person speak for himself or herself at the polls, and then count the votes? Then we shall be more sure that the majority really rules; now a minority may often carry an election, defeating the wish of the majority. You are not in such bitter need of this womanly element as the cities are. You can at least get pure milk and pure air and decent playplaces for your children, without asking your supervisors. But remember that evil in the cities comes home to you. The cities draw young people to them; the cities send delegations to Sacramento that outvote yours; the cities breed fashions and diseases that spread out into the country. If women can make the cities cleaner places to live in and can make the city politicians more careful to send clean men to the legislature you will feel the good of it in your own home.

One thing more:—Fifteen years ago California voted on an equal suffrage amendment. It was carried, outside the great cities, by a fair majority. The cities reversed the vote of the country, and kept the ballot from women. There is no doubt that the country will vote again for equal suffrage. Are the cities to outvote the country again? The cities have grown bigger in fifteen years. The organized vices in large cities, which fear the vote of women, are better systematized, better financed, than they were in 1896. If the vicious elements are to be outvoted, the country must not only carry the amendment; it must carry it with a liberal margin.

Will you not do more than cast your own vote for this righteous measure? Will you not work for it?—Milicent Shinn.

Part of wording used in newspaper advertisement that showed large cut of sample ballot and was headed:

"Mark Ballot Like This and Enfranchise Women.

"A vote for the fourth amendment on the ballot is a vote to enfranchise the women of California, to extend the responsibilities of government to those to whom men now sanguinely give almost full responsibility for the control of their homes; full responsibility for that task of fundamental importance, the rearing of their children."

Extract from form used with newspaper coupons a few days before Election Day:

"Women! Here's a Chance to Aid the Cause.

Every woman who is interested in the success of Woman Suffrage and who wants to help the cause by serving at the polls or opening her home to the poll workers on election day, fill out this slip and mail at once to Miss Gail Laughlin, Chairman Woman

Suffrage Committee, Room 125, Lick Building, Montgomery Street, near Sutter.

Do it now, don't wait until to-morrow,—Tuesday is Election Day. Cut this out and mail to-day.

Name .....Address .....

Telephone .....District .....

Precinct .....Will serve at polls.....

Will keep open house.....Can Accommodate.....

Form printed in all daily papers:

A PRIZE OF FIFTY DOLLARS IS OFFERED

for the best design for a poster to be used in the present Equal Suffrage campaign for Votes for Women.

Contest open for all. Designs proportioned to poster 22x14 inches, finished. Yellow must predominate, but two other colors may be used in design.

Contest closes June 15th, noon. All designs must be received before that time, addressed to Prize Poster Contest, headquarters of the College Equal Suffrage League, 350 Post street, San Francisco, California.

All designs must be submitted without a signature and be accompanied by a sealed envelope, enclosing the real name and address of the artist, to be opened by the judges after their decision. For identification the assumed name should be written on the back of the design and on the envelope. Designs returned at owner's risk if adequate postage is enclosed.

No further information can be given the contestants. The result of the competition will be published Sunday, June 25th, in the San Francisco papers.

Four billboard posters, 7 by 10 feet, posted for one month, read:

VOTE YES.
Senate Amendment No. 8. Oct. 10, 1911.
JUSTICE FOR CALIFORNIA WOMEN.
Give your girl an equal chance with your boy.

These States have Equal Suffrage:

Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington.
CALIFORNIA NEXT.
An attack on Woman Suffrage is an attack on democracy.
COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.
4th PLACE ON BALLOT.

The only difference in the three others was in the central phrase, which read:

"Women are the world's housekeepers. Let them help in City housekeeping. The ballot is the broom," and

"Women pay taxes, give some say to those who pay," and

"7,000,000 women are wage earners in the United States. The ballot is workingman's protection."

A fifth bill poster, much larger, 14 ft. by 20 ft., read:

"'I go for all sharing the privileges of government who assist in bearing its burdens—by no means excluding women.'—Abraham Lincoln.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

	4	Senate Amendment No. 8	YES NO	X
		4th Place on the Ballot."		

Wording used on grocers' paper bags:

FOR HOME AND FAMILY VOTE FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

Fourth Place on Ballot at Next Tuesday's Election.

It means Clean Streets, Clean Milk, Pure Food, Playgrounds, Better Schools.

This was used on a 2x3-inch card printed by the thousands, and distributed before and on election day:

GIVE THE WOMEN A SQUARE DEAL
VOTE YES on the 8th Amendment
No. 4 on the Ballot
Election, October 10th, 1911.

Form of membership card distributed at all public meetings:

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE
318 Union Square Bldg.—350 Post Street.

Aim: To work for the Equal Suffrage Amendment (No. 4).
Membership Fee, $1. Life Membership, $10.

I WILL BECOME A MEMBER.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

Phone.....

Form used on blotters for free distribution:

"For the long work day,
For the taxes we pay,
For the laws we obey,
We want something to say."

MISCELLANEOUS.

At the County Fair at Chico during the campaign there had been several prizes offered by the management for "the prettiest baby," but when the twenty-odd mothers with charming infants began to arrive, the Fair managers did not know where to put them—they had forgotten to furnish a booth for them. Thereupon the suffragists made room for all the mothers and children in their suffrage booth, and political equality was "advertised by its loving friends."

Program of Blue Liner Campaigning Committee.

I. Introduction by Local Speaker (8 minutes).
II. Song, "John Anderson, My Jo-John."
III. "Justice and Expediency" (20 minutes).
IV. Suffrage Song, "These are Days of Lively Ways."
V. Objections Answered (8 minutes).
VI. Monologue (10 minutes).
VII. "How We Got the Vote in Washington" (5 minutes).
VIII. Local Speaker (8 minutes).
IX. "Reuben and Rachel." Dance-song.

A suffragist version of the old song, "Reuben and Rachel," is usually given in costume, with an airy dance step between the verses, and is very easy to present.

The stanzas follow:

Reuben and Rachel up to Date.

Reuben, I have long been thinking
What a nice world this would be
If they'd give us votes for women
All along the western sea.

Chorus.

Tura, lura, lura, lura, lura—
Tura, lura, lura, lura lu—
If they'd give us votes for women
All along the western sea.

Rachel, stop that kind of talking
There is one thing don't forget

What I want is a perfect lady,
Not a headstrong suffragette.

Chorus.

But Reuben, Reuben, a perfect lady
Must like men her taxes pay;
In the spending of this money—
Won't you let her have some say?

Chorus.

Rachel, Rachel, you surprise me;
Cast your eye upon the man
Who has been Lord of Creation
Ever since the world began.

Chorus.

Reuben, Reuben, I'm admitting
Men thus far have held full sway;
Still the world is not quite perfect,
Let us help in our small way.

Chorus.

Rachel, Rachel, I believe, dear,
Woman's proper sphere's the home,
From the cook stove and the wash tub
She should never wish to roam.

Chorus.

Reuben, Reuben, home's no longer
Bounded by the flat's four walls,
Prison, factory, pure food, playgrounds
Woman hears a thousand calls.

Chorus.

Rachel, Rachel, I admit, dear,
There's something in what you say;
I promise you to think it over;
Perhaps you'll get the vote some day.

Chorus.

Reuben, Reuben, procrastination
Is just where the trouble lies;
We'll get the vote through evolution;
Revolution we despise.

Chorus.

Rachel, Rachel, you've convinced me,
And I'll take you for my mate,
Woman's proper sphere's the home, dear,
But our home's the whole great State.

The College League supplied the affirmative speakers for debate at this non-partisan club.

UNITARIAN CLUB.
PROGRAM.

Suffrage for Women.

A Debate—"Shall Amendment No. 8 be Adopted?"

For the affirmative:

Mrs. W. W. Douglas.
Rev. Chas. F. Aked.

For the negative:

Mrs. William Force Scott.
Col. John P. Irish.

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE READING
By MRS. MARION CRAIG-WENTWORTH

Maeterlinck's "Ariadne and Barbe Bleue"
Selection from Elizabeth Robins' "Votes for Women"

St. Francis Hotel Ballroom

Tuesday Afternoon, September 12, 1911, at 2:30 o'Clock.
Tickets $1.00 - - - - - - - Boxes $10.00

Toward the close of our campaign a professional anti-suffrage woman left her home in New York to come, as some one said, "more than three thousand miles, over mountains and plains, to tell California women that it would be unwomanly of them to cross the block to put their opinions about the affairs of their home city into a ballot box." This same lady gave rise to one of the bon mots of the campaign; she spoke of the horrible increase in divorce, which, somehow, she linked with the idea of political equality. She told how, in Kansas City, one marriage in every four was dissolved, "and in Kansas," she said, "women have municipal suffrage." She told how she had stopped in Colorado, on her way to California, and found all the people allied in sentiment against woman suffrage. A few evenings later, Miss Gail Laughlin, in replying to this challenge, for her home State of Colorado, remarked, "That as the Kansas City, where divorce is so common, is in the State of Missouri—where there is no form of suffrage—and not in the State of Kansas, as the lady imagined, it might be pertinent to enquire where the lady was wandering when she thought she was in Colorado?"

"The right to cast a free vote and to have it honestly counted is the supreme privilege of American citizenship. Its cost has been

high and long to pay. Thousands of years of effort and millions of lives it took to open the way to the ballot box for every adult male American, born or naturalized into citizenship. It is a proud privilege, worth all it cost of sweat and sacrifice, of blood and toil and tears."

During the months of active work at headquarters, the restless little seven-year-old son of one of the most indefatigable workers used to come and fold leaflets by the half hour. Election night his mother found, on coming to her room after midnight, an offering of a little bag of sticky candy and a note saying, "Mother, please awaken me." He hated to sleep without knowing the returns.

The next day when the little chap came to headquarters and heard that his cause was lost—as we believed—he was silent for a moment, then, his lips trembling, he said:

"Do we have to do it over again, mother? And do we have to fold lit'chur?"

"I'm afraid we do, little son."

He turned away. A few minutes afterwards his mother found him seated alone, his head not much above the level of the littered table, doggedly at work on a great pile of yellow leaflets, "folding lit'chur."

"A friend was condoling with a mother because one of her four sons was not a daughter.

"'Well,' said Johnnie, the eldest, 'I don't know who'd a' been her. Joe wouldn't a' been her, and Bill wouldn't a' been her, and dad wouldn't a' been her, and, you betcher life, I wouldn't a' been her.'

"What man would be the unenfranchised woman?"

Autograph inscription on books shown at Handcraft Exhibit:

"I don't want to vote because it is unjust that I shouldn't, but because it is best—for the world and for me—that I should."

Miriam Michelson.

"Success to this phase of higher education!" Charles K. Field.

"Women were originally the property of men, but in the course of social evolution they are gradually becoming individuals in their own right. Men can no longer hold them in subjection by the exercise of arbitrary power, and the time has come when women must be reckoned with as partners in the state as they are in the family."

Charles Keeler.

"It is only the man who has no message who is too fastidious to beat the drum at the door of his booth." G. B. Shaw.

October 10th.

Out of the dust of the street
Came the denial;
Out of the fumes of the clubs,
Scorn of our trial.

But from the strength of the hills
Men's voices hailed us;
God bless our farmer-folk,
Scarce a man failed us!

"We cannot have a sensitive government in any way except by response between governed and governors." Weyl.

"To my mind this enfranchisement of women is but a means to an end; the averting of class war, of blood revolution, the like of which the world has never seen." Gertrude Atherton.

The opponents of woman suffrage "Can know nothing of the history of woman, or they would have been forced to note that her progress, almost from the dawn of civilized history, has been as inevitable as democracy." Gertrude Atherton.

"Good wishes to you in your pioneering for the cause. I am sure that it is going to be done so well that some of us will be able in October to 'go on and occupy.'" Jessica Peixotto.

"It is just as important to men as to women that women should be placed in a position favorable to honest self-expression. The Civil War not only freed the slaves, but of the masters it made free men."

"Citizenship in a democracy ought to mean the ability and right to participate in the affairs of that democracy, and the point of objection that we make against our woman citizens, simply because they are women, is neither rational nor just." Albert Elliot.

The Human Appeal.

"The widest and deepest appeal that can be made to all men is the broad human argument. We must tell men that women want to vote just because they are human beings; they do not wish to be considered as angels, nor yet as domestic pets or beasts of burden, but just as plain, simple people, possessed of the same desire as men

are to express their will, their opinion, their individuality in the collective life, and to be a vital part of society. If men could only imagine how they would feel were they disfranchised, how humiliated, how isolated from their fellow beings, how indignant and full of protest, and would then consider that this is just how women feel, they would understand why the voice of woman is heard throughout the land and will not be hushed until man has given her the political freedom that God ordained should go to the daughters of Manasseh as well as to his sons. Men and women are gathered together upon the same earth, equally interested in making it a safe and happy dwelling place. They live in the same houses; they eat the same food; they wear clothes made under the same conditions; they walk the same streets; they use the same conveyances; they enter the same shops, offices, and places of amusement; they attend the same schools, colleges, and churches; they pass, in the end, through the same little green door that swings open at the far end of the road of life. Why, then, should not women have an equally authoritative word to say on this common environment—not by indirect influence, but by their vote, the only sure, definite and dignified way of registering one's opinions that society has yet found."

Fannie W. McLean.

On the morning of August 6th, 1911, The Call, of San Francisco, came out with great headlines on the front page:

"Hereby The Call Pledges Its Aggressive Support to the Political Emancipation of California's Women."

One paragraph of the editorial which followed said:

"It is a simple enough alteration of the State's organic law that is to bring about this great change. Amendment No. 8 merely takes out of the Constitution a sex adjective and puts into it the alternative sex pronoun and so abolishes the anomalous and indefensible distinction between the human rights of the being born male and the being born female."

After Father Gleason's impassioned talk for real citizenship for women, a sturdy old man came up to an usher and laid a dollar in the basket. "Here's my dollar," he said. "You've got me and my wife to-day. We've got seven sons and two sons-in-law and I'm goin' home to put them in line."

The reward of efficiency should not be effacement.

The suffragist thinks log-rolling is never so despicable as when one is the log.

After our generous opponents had lost their bets they still had political advice to give away.

Justice is a fine enough thing to be applied even to one's self.

San Francisco is the most populous city in the world where women vote.

After hearing "How the Vote Was Won," many listeners who had laughed at the good-humored irony of the play went away with a new attitude toward what they had before thought of as only a grim and militant subject for debate.

Bear your part so that when the gift of full citizenship comes you need not accept it, entirely at the hands of others, as paupers, but as honest partners, both in the labor and in the reward, and so enter into the larger heritage.

Dr. Aked gave one evening a week to the College League during a number of weeks, and besides his many city meetings he spoke in country towns as widely separated as Oakland, Napa, Alameda, Marysville, Berkeley, Petaluma, Santa Cruz and Fresno.

"For what does chivalry exist but for the protection of the weak, the overthrowing of wrong? It does not imply that the weak are forever to be kept in a position of dependence. In the light of centuries of Christian teaching, chivalry to-day means the sharing of advantages, the lifting of burdens, the gracious conferring of privileges."

"To my mind there is no question but that on October 10th we shall win the amendment, if we put into this campaign all the spirit and fire and consecration that characterized the campaign of 1896.

"We need workers for everything. Now the question is, Are the many of us willing to thrust upon the few the stupendous burden of a campaign like ours? Are we willing to ride to victory on the backs of others?

"Don't, we implore you, remain calm and impassive. Give rein to whatever of noble rage must possess you, if you feel the degradation of disfranchisement. What you may leave undone may prove to have been the very thing that meant victory. If you can do anything, no matter what, do it. If you can give anything, no matter what, give it.

"Never has such a golden opportunity come to us. Never has so much depended upon our victory. Shall it be said that we lost our campaign because our own women did not care enough? Shall we have no message for the anxiously hoping East?"

Expense of repairing and running a seven-seated touring-car for campaign use amounts to about $300 a month, if the salary of a chauffeur is not included.

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant said at a meeting in San Francisco:

"I find myself frequently obliged to ask the advice of my wife, my daughter, the wife of my friend, that I may know how to legislate wisely. In all things, I am deeply impressed with the capacity of woman to forget herself; in love for her family she forgets herself; in devotion to a cause she forgets herself; in service to others she forgets herself; but in all this I see no reason why we, also, should forget her."

"Better mothers will bring forth better sons, and the impetus gained by the one sex will be transmitted, in the next generation, to the other." Thomas H. Huxley.

"We fear that so long as this potential motherhood is her lot, woman will be fearfully weighted in the race of life. The duty of man is to see that not a grain is piled upon that load beyond what Nature imposes; that injustice is not added to inequality."
Thomas H. Huxley.

Two documents were very widely distributed by the anti-suffragists during the summer. One was an anonymous circular headed "Don't Vote To Ruin California," and was signed "Veritas Vincit." There was not even a printer's mark to show where it came from. This is a characteristic statement from it, "The suffragist, after heaping this abuse on men,—who have accomplished all the wonders of the world, . . . demand that they surrender their just and inalienable rights to the sex which has accomplished absolutely nothing, except being the passive and often unwilling and hostile medium by which humanity is created."

To this we made no reply. Later there appeared a leaflet headed, "Northern California Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage." By way of endorsement there were the names of fifty well-known women of California. Then followed a series of reasons, the first being, "Man is man and woman is woman." In replying we did not deny this.

We issued a circular called, "Vote for the 4th Amendment," with the suffrage endorsement of the California Federation of Woman's Clubs, Woman's Organized Labor, Mother's Congress, Collegiate Alumnae, Woman's Parliament, State Nurses' Association, and several other organizations of the same sort. The names

of about fifty prominent California women who stand for equal suffrage, followed, and in sixteen short paragraphs the anti-suffrage reasons were met by reasons for believing in woman suffrage.

"The ballot is the silent expression of opinion on stated questions on a certain day."—*J. Stitt Wilson.*

Let me urge each one of you not to hesitate because the way is unfamiliar and your strength untried. If you see the light ahead, if you are sure, as the ultimate outcome of this movement, thousands of lives are to be enriched, that, in itself, goes far to equip you for your work. None of us in the College Equal Suffrage League were experienced women of affairs. We are wives, and mothers, and home-makers, most of us, but we have reached, with quiet argument, many thousand people since we began our active work. In this connection, I like to think of what Lincoln said, in 1861: "The mightiest of tasks has fallen to the humblest of Presidents." We know how in the singleness of his purpose he fulfilled his task, that, in his own words, "This Nation, under God, should have a new birth of freedom."

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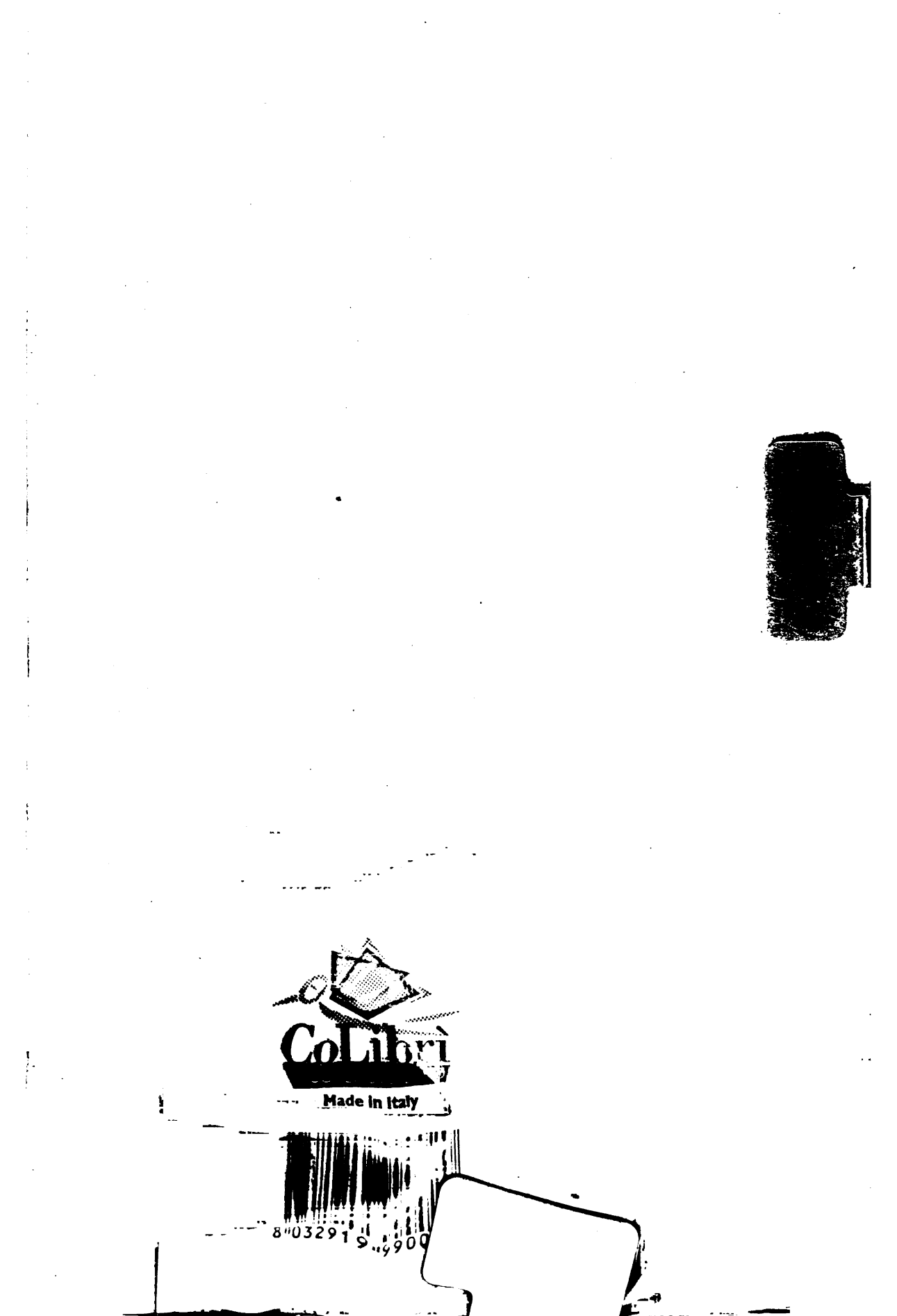
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